

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: June 19, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT: **FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
HEARINGS BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

J. Addington Wagner, National Commander, the American Legion, telephonically advised DeLoach this morning at home that Jimmy O'Neill, Publisher of the American Legion Magazine, had discussed the proposed hearings concerning the Fund for the Republic with Chairman Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. O'Neill, at Wagner's instruction, had pointed out the inadequacy of the Committee's preparation to hold such hearings. Chairman Walter agreed and the hearings have been indefinitely postponed.

Wagner wanted his deepest thanks relayed to the Director because of what he termed "the very good advice I received a few days ago while conferring with Mr. Hoover."

Wagner feels that the Committee will now dig down and try to present better hearings than were originally scheduled.

## ACTION:

For information.

cc - Mr. Belmont

CDD:rm  
(3)

62551  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/13/81 BY SP6 b1A  
100-391697-385

27 JUN 29 1956

*CRW*  
*L. B. Nichols*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 28510 JLF

June 13, 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Today I saw National Commander J. Addington Wagner of the American Legion, who was accompanied by Inspector DeLoach.

Commander Wagner stated that he was scheduled shortly to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee to open the hearings in connection with that Committee's inquiries into the function and activities of the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Wagner indicated that he was concerned about the Committee proceeding in this matter at this present time and he had some doubts as to whether full preparation had been made by the Committee staff for conducting such an investigation and he also had some question in his mind as to whether it was wise for the representative of the American Legion to be called first in these hearings.

I told Mr. Wagner this, of course, was a matter entirely within the discretion of the Committee but that personally it seemed to me the Committee should never initiate these hearings until a great deal of staff work had been done so that such witnesses as might be called before the Committee could be thoroughly questioned and that it seemed to me further the persons to be interrogated from the side of the Fund for the Republic should be called first and that as a tactical move the testimony of the representatives of the American Legion should close the hearings. I suggested to Mr. Wagner that he might wish to discuss with Chairman Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee this situation but I asked if he did so that he not indicate my views about the same as I did not desire to inject myself into the present problems.

Mr. Wagner indicated he and Mr. O'Neill, the Editor of the American Legion magazine, would arrange to see Chairman Walter on Friday of this week and that he intended to approach the matter along the lines we had discussed.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
138 JUN 18 1956

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.	
TIME	6:08 pm
DATE	6/13/56
BY	JED

JEH:edm (4)

28 JUN

1956

JUN 20 1956

DECODED COPY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☒ **Radio**☐ **Teletype**

FROM LOS ANGELES

6-28-56

NR 281649

TO DIRECTOR

DEFERRED

RE MINORITY REPORT, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM - FUND FOR THE  
REPUBLIC - RADIO PROGRAM - RADIO STATION KNX, HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.  
 RESEARCH MATTER. OO : LA. RE LA LET JUNE 18, 1956 AND BUTEL  
 JUNE 15, 1956. MINORITY REPORT ON JAPANESE MATTERS SCHEDULED  
 TO BE AIRED OVER KNX RADIO, PACIFIC COAST NETWORK, SUNDAY,  
 JULY 1, 1956, 10:00 AM TO 11:00 AM, PACIFIC COAST DAYLIGHT  
 SAVINGS TIME. LA WILL MONITOR AND ADVISE.

RECEIVED:

2:30 PM RADIO

3:03 PM CODING UNIT

L

Mr. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-7-89 BY 208 BTJ/ag

RECORDED - 84

100-391697-

386

10 JUL 2 1956

JUL 5 1956

2 28 54 28

Mr. Nichols

June 18, 1956

M. A. Jones

*Fund For The Republic*

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
JUNE 18, 1956

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY 2058 (ST) JF

On this date, Lewis first discussed the President's health and then began discussing the administration's proposed delegates from the United States to the United Nations. He stated that another individual had been proposed along with Paul Hoffman to represent the United States. Lewis stated he did not have this man's name, but would furnish it on his broadcast Tuesday, June 19, 1956. Lewis then reported the following:

Paul Hoffman was the first proposed delegate and they are still insisting on him and refuse to weaken in spite of violent Senate opposition. The nominee for the other seat was Dean Rusk. This created such a strong protest that his name was withdrawn and the name of Judge Charles E. Wyzanski was substituted. This judge has been under severe criticism for his "plush carpet" treatment of communists who come before his court, and the light sentences he has given out in the more than 50 dope-peddling cases.

There is activity among Senate Republican leaders to find out who in the administration is the source whence these appointments come-- particularly since Wyzanski is on record as favoring the admission of communist China into the United Nations. Wyzanski was a member of a group of New England individuals who in 1950 busied themselves with the avowed purpose of working for a "more effective peace." To this end, in December, 1950, they proposed in a statement a deal with Red China which would include the withdrawal of all UN troops from Korea, the withdrawal of the U.S. 7th Fleet from the straits of Formosa and the admission of communist China into the UN. Judge Wyzanski was one of those who signed the statement. The point properly made is just who would propose an individual with such a fact in his past record as a member of the United States delegation to the UN when the admission of Red China to that organization is one of the questions that is uppermost in the agenda for this fall. Whoever that individual is bears some very careful watching in the future.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Rosen  
cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Fund File (100-391697)

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
76 JUN 20 1956

50 JUN 20 1956



Jones to Nichols memorandum

June 18, 1956

As for Paul Hoffman, he seems at the moment to be very conveniently out of the public eye because Federal Court officials who have been trying to serve papers on him are unable to find him anywhere-- and not able to get service on him. They have been able to serve papers on the President of the Fund, Mr. Hoffman's protégé, Mr. Robert M. Hutchins. (Dr. Bella Dodd, former communist, filed a \$150,000 dollar libel suit against the Ford Fund for the Republic in connection with an article distributed by the Fund. This article is "The Kept Witnesses.")

Lewis said he was right in his speculation of Friday night that the Fund for the Republic itself inspired the writing of this article which is the basis of Dr. Dodd's suit against the Fund. Lewis said he had it from good authority that the Fund itself originated the idea of the article, had the article written, and when it was subsequently published in "Harper's," they obtained 25,000 reprints and distributed them.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

June 19, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 19, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-7-89 BY 2525 JAP

During the course of his broadcast tonight, Fulton Lewis started by stating he wanted to make a very important correction and one which he would like to emphasize very decidedly. He stated, "When you speak as many words per year as I speak over this microphone, it is well over a half a million a year, it is a foregone conclusion that some mistakes are going to be made from time to time. When I find out about such a mistake you know from experience I always try to correct them as quickly as possible. But this one is particularly important because it does injury, or might do injury, I'm afraid, to an innocent person and a very distinguished person and that is the last thing we want to do.

"In last Thursday night's broadcast when I was talking about the suit which the reformed communist Bella Dodd has filed against the Fund for the Republic for its circulation of 25,000 copies of a reprint of a Harper's magazine article entitled "The Kept Witnesses" written by a writer named Richard Rohrer in which Dodd claimed she was libeled, and I said I suspected, and I have provided documentary confirmation of that suspicion, that the Fund for the Republic really hired Richard Rohrer to write that article for the purpose of getting reprints of it so they could circulate it as a legitimate magazine reprint for their own propaganda purposes.

"I told you on that occasion there was good reason to suspect that, because I had specific evidence of a former case in which a book was written for the Fund for the Republic and before publication the manuscript of the book was inspected by one Adam Yarmalynsky, the Washington representative of the Fund for the Republic and .... ? .... one of its numerous vice presidents.

"In fact, in returning the manuscript to the writer, Yarmalynsky included an eight page memorandum with some 35 specific suggestions which in general were designed to bolster the force of the book from the standpoint of anti-

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

BMS:jh  
(7)

63 JUN 21 1956

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
140 JUN 21 1956

memorandum

June 19, 1956

anti-communism. All of which was entirely correct, but I regret to say that in giving you the name of the author involved to whom the suggested corrections were made, I said that it was Professor CHURCH Rossiter (ph-) of Cornell University, New York. I discovered the error this afternoon. It was not Professor Rossiter at all. He happens to be doing an entirely independent study in connection with the Fund for the Republic, that is how the confusion of names occurred. But he was not the author involved in the incident I related. The author of the book to which I referred, the one who received from Yaroslavsky the 35 suggested alterations in the text, was Professor Robert Cushman (ph-) who also is of Cornell University. I might explain that last Thursday night at the time of this, I was broadcasting from Roanoke, Virginia, where I had gone for a lecture engagement, and had worked on the broadcast in my hotel room without benefit of notes or research facilities that I have here at my office and without the staff assistance in checking such things. Not an excuse certainly, but by way of an explanation of how such things can happen. When I discovered the mistake this afternoon, I personally called Professor Rossiter and expressed my profound apologies which he treated most graciously and I want to make apologies to him and to you over this microphone at this time and ask those of you who heard the original broadcast that you please make the necessary mental correction. "

This was all of his broadcast of interest to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

June 20, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 20, 1956

MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM, STATION WWDC  
WASHINGTON, D. C., 7 P. M. EDT

On his program tonight, Mr. Lewis announced briefly that Representative Francis E. Walter (D-Pennsylvania) announced today that the hearings concerning the Fund for the Republic which the House Committee on Un-American Activities planned on holding shortly have been postponed because of additional leads which have come to light requiring further investigation.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

RGE:jh  
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2083073 klf

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
145 JUN 22 1956

1 JUN 25 1956

Mr. Nichols

June 26, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
BROADCAST OF JUNE 26, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8BDD/af

Lewis discussed the statement made by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., National Chairman, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), who spoke on this program last night.

He said the themes Rauh claimed for ADA were similar to those of the Fund for the Republic. He referred to Rauh's comments in connection with the Paul Hughes case to the effect that Rauh said he never paid any money to anyone for information but gave expense money to an individual who purported to have information. Subsequently, Hughes was indicted, brought to trial on charges of perjury and acquitted. Lewis said he later called Thomas Bolan, the able New York prosecutor in the case, concerning the alleged expense money of \$10,800 paid to Hughes. Bolan said any such statement by Rauh was in direct conflict with trial testimony, including Rauh's, and that there were no vouchers or other documents pertaining to any expense accounts which came up in the trial. Bolan could not understand such a statement by Rauh that the \$10,800 was paid to Hughes as expenses.

Lewis stated that in giving his background data Rauh omitted reference to one particular job he held prior to entry into the armed services in 1942. This job was as Administrator of Lend Lease under Edward R. Stettinus before and during the early stages of World War II. Lewis referred to an article in the February 17, 1942, issue of "P. M." written by L. F. "Eazy" Stone, Washington correspondent for "P. M." and an extreme "lefty." The article entitled "British Tories Seem to Be Aiding Franco" reflected that the British had asked permission to reship a copper assignment received under Lend Lease from the U. S. to a copper mine in Spain. In addition to citing the purported content of the British memorandum, the article in "P. M." gave numerous purported direct quotations from the secret document. An editorial in the same issue of "P. M." severely criticized such action and any possible shipment of materials to Franco. The editorial claimed that it would not reveal the source of its information but that it would vouch for its authenticity. When Mr. Stettinus read the article, he found that the wording was the exact wording from the British secret document which had come to this country in code. Mr. Stettinus promptly referred the matter

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697  
LJH:cag:rcw

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
141 JUN 28 1956

7)

50 JUN 28 1956

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 26, 1956

to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, expressing great concern and requesting that the FBI conduct an investigation of the Lend Lease agency to determine who was responsible. The FBI investigation began, but 5 days later Stettinus called the FBI and said that investigation by his own agency had uncovered the individual responsible. It was Joseph L. Raub, Jr., who had confessed giving the data to "Harry" Stone because of Raub's bitter hatred of France and the new Spanish Government set up after the defeat of the communists in Spain. Raub resigned the next day after Mr. Stettinus discussed this matter with him.

Lewis also gave another bit of information which Raub omitted. He said Raub was the attorney for William Remington when the latter was before a hearing of the Loyalty Security Board and also during the first half of the trial when Remington was charged with perjury, for which he was convicted. But halfway through this trial the presiding judge, Gregory F. Noonan silenced Raub and refused to let him address the bench during the rest of the trial because of Raub's conduct up to that time.

Lewis mentioned Raub's statement that he was affiliated with the Polish Economic Mission in 1946 when we were "trying to wean Poland from the communists" but when the phony election clamped communist control on Poland, he and the other attorneys resigned. Lewis said records show Raub was registered to the Polish Economic Mission from April 15, 1946, until October 4, 1946. He said the post-war American Ambassador to Poland, Mr. Arthur Lane has answered Lewis that Poland certainly was communist during this particular period and that he had so protested to the State Department against negotiating any loans for Poland and that he had threatened to resign, which he subsequently did. A 40-million-dollar loan had been granted the day before Raub's name appeared on the registry but later was held up in May and was reinstated the following month. The other loan was granted, held up and later reinstated in August. The loan drew adverse opinions from everyone in the State Department up to Undersecretary Dean Acheson, who later as Acting Secretary overruled objections and granted the loans. Mr. Acheson's law firm, from which he was on leave of absence, also represented the Polish Government.

Lewis concluded by indicating that the only election in Poland to which Raub might have been referring took place on January 19, 1947, 3 months after Raub resigned his representation -- the Polish Government and also after Poland had succeeded in getting both loans.

#### RECOMMENDATION

None. For information.

57  
ff  
Mr. Nichols

June 28, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 28, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 BJJ/af

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his news broadcast of June 28, 1956, again took up the discussion of the study released by the Fund for the Republic regarding black listing in the radio, motion picture and television industries. He stated that although the report was only released yesterday it is already in trouble, not only from caustic editorial comment, but the House Un-American Activities Committee has subpoenaed the author of the so-called study, John Cogley, as the start of its inquiry as to what the real purposes of the Fund for the Republic are.

Lewis continued by saying that in announcing this action the Committee Chairman, Congressman Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, made the following statement, "In this period of cold war the major battlefield is in the minds of men and the outcome of the issue of our ultimate survival or defeat will be decided upon this battlefield. The mass media of information and entertainment are one of the most sensitive areas of this struggle and the questions which affect them are of crucial importance to the welfare and security of the Nation." Lewis continued by stating that the Congressman had said the report leveled very serious charges against men in the entertainment field, whose efforts have been directed to trying to eliminate menaces of the communist conspiracy in the United States. Lewis stated that Congressman Walter said the Committee wanted to be in the position to pass judgment on the conclusions which the Fund has reached in its survey or to ascertain what influences may have contributed to the character of its charges.

Lewis stated that Cogley had been hired to conduct the study and was given a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, and that he since has been made an official of the Fund, and it is in this capacity that he will be called to testify.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

FJH:cag

5 (7) JUL 2 1956

100-391697-  
NOW RECORDED  
76 JUL 2 1956

Jones to Nichols memorandum

June 28, 1956

Lewis continued that the officers of the Fund stated that the report did not contain any conclusions or opinions and in Lewis' opinion this was strictly "hogwash."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.



# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 28, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 27, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2025-108

Tolson  
Nichols  
Boardman  
Belmont  
Mason  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Nease  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his news broadcast of June 27, 1956, devoted about half of his time to matters of interest to the Bureau. He stated that Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., spokesman for Americans for Democratic Action appeared before a Congressional Investigating Committee today and told them that there is a certain schizophrenia among certain Republicans on the question of the Supreme Court and its recent decisions in regard to communists. He was referring to the series of decisions, and particularly the recent one, in which the Court held that the Government's Loyalty-Security program applies only to so called sensitive jobs and that loyalty risks who have been fired from nonsensitive positions must be restored to their jobs. Lewis said that Rauh mentioned this matter the other night when he appeared on Lewis' program and alleged that the Supreme Court agreed with him (Rauh) and seemed to be quite triumphant about it. He stated that an irate Congress has immediately taken steps to remedy this Supreme Court decision.

Lewis stated that Rauh has good reason to take the position he does take because he has found it quite profitable in past. He stated Rauh should be quite fond of communists and communist fronts and stated that he had before him the files of the Congressional Record for October 17, 1951. He stated that on page 13,397, Representative Velde of the House Un-American Activities Committee reports certain findings of the Committee. Lewis quotes from the records which reflect that the records of the New York Trust Company furnished to the Committee reflect that on July 14, 1950, Rauh received \$10,000 from the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Foundation and again on November 20, 1950, he received an additional \$10,000. Lewis stated he also had before him the Guide to Subversive Organizations which cites the Marshall Fund as one of the principle sources of money for communist fronts. Lewis also mentioned the fact that at the same time, Rauh was serving as Attorney for William Remington who was later convicted of perjury and killed in prison.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697  
DGH:bs  
(7)

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
46 JUL 6 1956  
JUL 6 1956

63 JUL 10 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

June 28, 1956

Lewis stated that on the subject of another old friend, the Fund for the Republic, the Fund had just released a study on the subject of **Black Listing** in the **Entertainment and Television Field** written by John Cogley. He stated that his report is in two volumes of 300 pages each and is highly slanted. He said he will report on it in greater detail when he has a chance to review it in its entirety. Lewis then referred to **Elmo Roper** who conducts a business in New York City known as **Elmo Roper Associates**. He stated that Roper is listed as a member of the Board of the Fund for the Republic. He stated the records show that in September, 1954, the Board of Directors, which included Roper, voted a fund of \$100,000 for a project to be carried on by the Fund entitled **Fear in Education**. He said the records of the Fund also show that at a subsequent date payment of \$41,786.01 was made to Elmo Roper Associates. He stated he called Roper telephonically and Roper advised that the research on this project was turned over to his organization and that this money was in payment for that work and that ~~an~~ organization in Chicago was given the other part of the work. He stated that Roper told him that his organization did the work on strictly a cost basis.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

*John Cogley* ✓  
What do we know  
re Cogley & Elmo Roper?  
L

Mr. Nichols

June 13, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS BROADCAST  
JUNE 13, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY 208373)af

Lewis mentioned that Federal Judge Charles E. Wyzansky, Jr., declined a position on the United States Delegation to the United Nations. The declination was set forth in a long letter to Secretary of State Dulles. Wyzansky mentioned that he felt that Federal Judges should not drift into political and diplomatic posts. Lewis wondered why with all the good men in this country Wyzansky, Paul Hoffman and Dean Rusk should be considered for the U. N. position.

Lewis stated that these nominations were not the choices of the State Department but came from the White House. Lewis said that Paul Hoffman is responsible and, he either does it through President Eisenhower or his brother, Milton Eisenhower. Lewis implied that Hoffman's interest was that he was or less looking for a job to salve his feelings because of his business failure Packard-Studebaker Corporation.

Lewis said that Wyzansky as a member of the Board of Directors of the Ford Foundation is naturally allied with Hoffman. He said that Wyzansky is a "pseudo intellectual, volatile and a non-conformist" and according to the Department of Justice, is not "always truthful."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Rosen  
cc - Mr. Nichols

For the Bureau file 100-391697

JTM:meh  
(7)

JUN 21 1956  
T.K.

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
145 JUN 15 1956

Mr. Nichols

June 4, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 4, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 288157/afp

During Lewis' broadcast on June 4, 1956, he devoted a portion to the nomination of Paul Hoffman for the position of delegate to the United Nations. He stated that the President's brother, Milton Eisenhower, is the person who is really pushing the nomination although, Lewis pointed out, he had not been able to confirm this information for one reason or another. He continued that it was Milton Eisenhower who refuses to give in despite the many objections which have been mailed to the White House and members of Congress.

Lewis further stated that Republican leaders did not believe that Hoffman's confirmation could win Senate approval. He further stated that these leaders had been informed that the White House had done all of their own investigating and were certain the confirmation would go through the Senate with approximately a ten vote margin. Lewis continued that if a confirmation for a presidential appointment was down to a ten vote margin it was far too narrow to be considered seriously.

Mr. Lewis further stated that a special staff has been assembled to gather background information on Hoffman as a basis for severe cross examination of him when he appears before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee.

Lewis went on to say that there were indications that the White House is also playing a game of strategy and intends to hold up Hoffman's nomination until the very last days of the present session. He said then at the last minute, when it's too late for the Senate to take any action, they would then toss the nomination into the scramble. He continued that an alternate rumor was that the President would wait till after adjournment to give Paul Hoffman the appointment and the Congress would have no chance to act upon it till mid January. According to Lewis, by that time the meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations would be all over and Mr. Hoffman's problems would be all over also.

Lewis stated that it was difficult to believe that the present administration would resort to such tactics because such tactics were dishonest and dishonorable.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Rosen

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

FJR:sak

(7)

6 JUN - 7 1956

100 - 391697 -  
NOT RECORDED  
141 JUN 6 1956

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

6-22-56

Mr. Nichols:

Re: [redacted] BUFILE 100-362227  
[redacted] BUFILE 100-401397  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC 100-391697  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN  
ACTIVITIES

As you will recall [redacted] of the House  
Committee on Un-American Activities telephoned me 6-13-56 stating the  
Committee intended [redacted]

[redacted] inquired whether [redacted]  
these two men would jeopardize anything the FBI is doing and whether either of  
them had been cooperative in dealings with us in the past.

After pulling files and checking with you I told [redacted] on 6-16-56  
that we had talked with [redacted] on several occasions at which time he had been  
cooperative in 1954. In January, 1955, however, he told us that future contacts  
with him should be held in the presence of his attorney, [redacted] in the  
latter's office. We attempted such an arrangement but [redacted] adopted an  
unfriendly attitude, subsequently canceling appointments and we have not talked  
to [redacted] since (100-362227-13).

[redacted] was told that since [redacted] has told us his client would  
resist any attempt by the FBI to recontact him, that [redacted] believed that asking  
his client to furnish information concerning his former associates was humiliating  
and degrading, we could see no possible objection to the committee subpoenaing  
[redacted]

With respect to [redacted] it was pointed out to [redacted] that  
[redacted] had come to us in March, 1953, at which time he voluntarily furnished  
information concerning his background and activities including his joining the  
Communist Party while attending Harvard University in 1948. [redacted] was told  
that [redacted] had given us some other information concerning persons known to him  
to be communists plus the fact that he left the Party after [redacted] had been  
active in [redacted] and in the spring of 1949  
obtained a pass through Communist Party headquarters in New York City [redacted]

[redacted] was told that so far as we knew  
there was no way to independently put [redacted] in the Party or substantiate  
independently anything he gave us regarding himself in 1953. [redacted] was  
referred to the public source writings of [redacted] and references thereto which  
include the [redacted]

[redacted] "Freedom Agenda" issued under sponsorship of the Carrie  
Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., which was created by the League of Women  
Voters and financed by the Fund for the Republic. [redacted] was author of an

53 JUL 6 1956  
REW:nl (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 60885/STJ

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

article captioned [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

This was an article revised from a paper delivered by [redacted] at the American Political Science Association convention in Chicago [redacted]  
[redacted]

In a memorandum from Mr. Jones to you dated 5-17-55 commenting on the Northwestern University Law Review article you stated, "It is excellent." In his article [redacted] defends the loyalty program. (100-401397-9)

It was pointed out to [redacted] that it would not be possible to question [redacted] based on information he had supplied us for the reason we are not aware whether he made a similar statement to anyone other than the FBI. [redacted] said he appreciated this fact and was considering having a committee investigator independently question [redacted] before the latter is subpoenaed in the hope [redacted] would make a similar disclosure.

On 6-22-56 [redacted] told me that he still plans to send a committee investigator to see [redacted] although the Fund for the Republic hearings had been postponed for perhaps a month or more. [redacted] said, of course, he would treat everything we discuss with him with utmost confidence.

Respectfully,

*W*

R. E. Wick  
*re*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 12, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS BROADCAST  
JUNE 12, 1956

Tolson

Nichols

Boardman

Belmont

Mason

Mohr

Parsons

Rosen

Tamm

Nease

Winterrowd

Tele. Room

Holloman

Gandy

On his broadcast on June 12, 1956, Lewis did not deal with the Fund for the Republic as such, but he did spend several minutes in criticizing a State Department nomination of Federal Judge Charles E. Wyzansky, Jr., to a United Nations position. Lewis intimated that a Senate committee was contemplating looking into the matter just to find out who is behind Wyzansky's nomination. Describing Wyzansky as a "baiter of the FBI" Lewis went on to report Wyzansky's comments at the time of the recent arrest of Michael Russo, Smith Act subject. Lewis pointed out that Wyzansky had released Russo without bail. Lewis further quoted Wyzansky as having said that he had no particular prejudice against dope peddling. The commentator then added that Judge Wyzansky was a member of the Board of Directors of the Ford Foundation and described him as an admirer of Felix Frankfurter. Lewis also quoted from a recent speech by Wyzansky in which the Judge claimed there was no immediacy in so far as the communist threat was concerned.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2083 BTJ/108

HPL:meh  
(2)

NOT RECORDED

46 JUN 18 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: June 12, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: J. ADDINGTON WAGNER  
NATIONAL COMMANDER, AMERICAN LEGION  
VISIT WITH DIRECTOR, JUNE 13, 1956ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 208 (S) 188

✓  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Director will recall that he has agreed to meet Wagner, his wife and son, John, on 6-13-56. Wagner called DeLoach at 2:30 p. m., 6-12-56. If the Director has no objections, Wagner would appreciate very much bringing several of his staff and a few members of their families with him to tour our facilities. The group includes George Kelly, Director of Public Relations of the American Legion, Mrs. Kelly [redacted] Robert Lynch, Assistant Director of Public Relations, Mrs. Lynch [redacted] [redacted] William Hauch, Assistant National Adjutant and Jimmy O'Neill, Publisher of "The American Legionnaire," the national magazine.

Wagner indicated that he knew very well it would be a great imposition upon the Director to meet the above mentioned people and members of their families; however, if this could possibly be accomplished, he would be deeply appreciative. As set forth above, the Director had previously agreed that he would meet Wagner, his wife [redacted] It had been planned that after briefly greeting Wagner's family, Mrs. Wagner [redacted] would be taken on tour while Wagner, who had requested a 10 minute appointment, would [redacted]

the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 27, 1956, concerning the Fund for the Republic. If the Director has no objections, the above-mentioned group will be announced upon their arrival at 9:00 a. m., and if the Director so desires, they will be shown into his office to shake his hand. SA Donald G. Hanning will then take the members of the staff and their families, with the exception of Wagner and [redacted] on tour. Wagner has requested that [redacted] be allowed to sit in with him when talking to the Director inasmuch as [redacted] has considerable information regarding the Fund for the Republic, which he thought Mr. Hoover might desire to know.

With respect to the matters which Wagner desired to discuss with the Director, it is known that he plans to tell Mr. Hoover that he is scheduled to

CDD:hpf  
(4)100-391677  
NOT RECORDED  
JUN 18 1956cc - Mr. Holloman  
Mr. Jones

50 JUN 20 1956

CRIME REC.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C  
b7D



Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

testify before the HCUA on June 27, 1956 [redacted]

[redacted]

As the Director will recall, we were confidentially advised by [redacted] that it was planned to subpoena Earl Browder and a number of other individuals who have previously espoused the CP line. [redacted] desired to do this so that embarrassing questions could be asked of these individuals and so it could be proven that propaganda was actually being spread by the Fund for the Republic.

The members of [redacted] are known to be very friendly to the FBI. I have personally met with [redacted] on several occasions and know him to be one of the "king makers" of the American Legion and a most capable individual who is doing a great deal in carrying on the Legion's fight against the Fund for the Republic. There will, of course, be no publicity concerning [redacted] George Kelly, Director of Public Relations, was invited to come along by Wagner merely to take advantage of an inspection tour of our facilities.

ACTION: If the Director has no objection, we will handle the above visit as set forth.

DELOACH STATED

TO WICK AT  
6:05 PM 6/12/56  
THAT 9:30 A.M.  
6/12/56 WILL BE

CONVENIENT AND  
WE WILL HAVE  
PARTY HERE. LAMW

✓ ~~✗~~ WPM  
*I cannot see them at 9 a.m.  
I can at 9.30 a.m. if that  
is convenient.*

- 2 - H.

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-87 BY SP3BJJ/af

June 21, 1956

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 21, 1956  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

28930

In his broadcast on June 21, 1956, Mr. Lewis stated that Secretary of State Dulles and Harold Stassen differ in their views on Russia since Stassen wants to "buddy up" to the Russians. He said that it is somewhat confusing to the outsider to note that there is a "third State Department which seems to operate through the side window of the White House consisting of Mr. Paul Hoffman of the Fund for the Republic and the President's brother, Milton Eisenhower, both of whom are very extreme internationalists of the one-worlder type although their stand on this particular controversy has not been made public."

Mr. Lewis continued that the Fund for the Republic issued a report in New York today (which he assumes is their annual report) giving a "rosy picture" of the Fund's accomplishments. In this report, Paul Hoffman says that the Fund has "sought to do something about the erosion of our ancient liberties, to work against racial discrimination and to promote a wider understanding of our heritage of freedom and justice in developing a strong and enterprising America." Mr. Lewis said that when translated into acts and accomplishments, these words relate to a picture which is "sinisterly different. It is, instead, a picture of planned attack and sabotage against the Federal government loyalty-security program, against congressional investigation into communism and other subversive activities and a general organized effort in the field of racial relations to follow the standard communist tactic of arousing racial strife and friction as a means of inflating trouble and disharmony on which to play for their own communist advantage."

Mr. Lewis mentioned an incident in Santa Anna, California, involving two Negro girl students at Chapman College. He read an article from the "Santa Anna Register" stating that the two students were ousted from their apartment because they were Negroes; that they refused to cooperate with a "leftist civil rights group hoping to make a television movie of the incident;" that Herbert Bernard, a former writer now with the Fund for the

- c - Mr. Nichols
- c - Mr. Boardman
- c - Mr. Belmont
- c - Mr. Young
- c - Tickler file 100-391697

100-391697-✓

NOT RECORDED  
126 JUN 29 1956

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

GWG:jac

(7)  
21 JUL 6 1956

June 21, 1956

Republic as a news film producer, called one of the girls "pig headed;" that the girls said they felt discrimination is an internal problem for the United States and that they did not feel they should take a stand; that the girls are natives of Panama and they felt relations between Panama and America might be endangered if they cooperated with Bernard's project; that Bernard told the girls films of the incident would be helpful to the United States and said his group makes films of civil rights incidents which, according to a Fund employee, are distributed free of charge to television stations; and that Bernard denied that the girls' story would have been slanted--"We're not loading it. We are merely reporting it." Mr. Lewis said that he feels the two girls are to be highly commended for making a much greater contribution to the cause of better racial relations than the Fund for the Republic had any sincere intention of doing.

28931

Mr. Lewis said that last week's issue of "Variety" magazine, which itself has the reputation of being on the "extreme liberal side," "contains a review of a television series entitled "Barrier" which appears on Sunday afternoons on station KRON-TV in San Francisco. The review in "Variety" states, "A half hour of round-table discussion on the fairly abstruse technicalities of anticommunist legislation is scarcely calculated to titillate a Sunday afternoon television audience...."; that "Barrier" is a series on civil liberties, and the Fund for the Republic is "picking up the tab" and KRON-TV is donating the time. Civic organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the Antidefamation League are participating. The panel leaders on the program were Lloyd D. Luckmann (Coordinator of the Division of Instruction at the City College of San Francisco) and John Garfinkle (a lawyer) who "made brief learned pitches about freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly." The panel discussed the Smith Act of 1940 and the Communist Control Act of 1954 and other anticommunist laws. Reportedly, it was evident that the panel was made up of four or five liberal lawyers, and "a couple of housewifely fill-ins." "The liberal viewpoint completely "swamped" the conservative. Mr. Lewis said that this program was one which the film division of the Fund for the Republic had put on; that the panel was badly "stacked" and that is "what the Fund for the Republic calls education in the field of civil liberties. Translated, that means propaganda in the field of anti-anti-communism." He then noted that the Fund enjoys tax exemptions on the grounds that it is nonpartisan, nonpolitical educational work in the general public interest." Mr. Lewis then noted that the Fund's latest report states the findings in the various projects of the Fund contain no conclusions or recommendations--statements of fact.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information. The San Francisco Office has been alert to the "Barrier" program for some time.

**AIRTEL**

6/18/56

**AIRTEL**

**AIR MAIL**

28027

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI**

**ATTENTION CRIME RECORDS SECTION**

**FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (94-489)**

**MINORITY REPORT, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM - FUND  
FOR THE REPUBLIC - RADIO PROGRAM - RADIO STATION KNX  
6121 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, California  
RESEARCH MATTER**

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-7-89 BY SP8SD/106**

**OO: LOS ANGELES**

Re Bureau teletype to Los Angeles dated 6/15/56,  
entitled **FLETCHER BOWRON**, Columbia Broadcasting System Radio  
Program Re Racial Minorities.

The following investigation was conducted by SA  
**LESLIE F. WARREN:**

An unidentified pretext telephone call made to the  
Radio Program Information Department, captioned station,  
on 6/15/56 failed to disclose any program scheduled for the  
week end of 6/15/56 or immediate future identifiable with the  
**FLETCHER BOWRON** Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) Radio  
Program Re Racial Minorities. The caller was referred to the  
Press Room of CBS - Radio - KNX and advised that the CBS News  
Bureau had been doing some programs on racial minorities and  
could furnish detail and possibly identify the program.

It was determined on 6/15/56, through the CBS Press  
Room, that the program in question was known as Minority  
Report, however, information available concerning it was  
limited, except that it was not a regularly scheduled show.

On 6/16/56 a similar unidentified pretext call was  
made to the CBS - KNX News Room, where it was ascertained  
that the program Minority Report consisted of a series of

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
- 5 - Los Angeles cc: 94-193 (FLETCHER BOWRON)  
94-304 (CBS)  
100-53004 (Fund for the Republic)  
100-44437 (Ford Foundation)

(8)  
LFW:DLR/lps

100-391697- ✓  
NOT RECORDED  
194 JUN 22 1956

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-66326-

DIRECTOR, FBI

6/18/56

28928

RE: MINORITY REPORT, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM - FUND  
FOR THE REPUBLIC - RADIO PROGRAM - RADIO STATION KKK  
6121 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, California  
RESEARCH MATTER

hour-long documentary type program and included a series of interviews on a particular subject. The next program of Minority Report concerns Japanese matters, but the release date had not been set, as CBS was still in the process of editing the film.

On 6/18/56 an unidentified pretext call was made to the CBS - KKK News Bureau where an unidentified female stated that the Minority Report concerning Japanese matters was still being edited and a release date had not been set, but it would most likely be aired within the next week or so and would probably be on a week end and that there would be publicity in connection with it. She stated that in collaboration with the Fund for the Republic, which is financed by the Ford Foundation, CBS Newsmen conducted a series of interviews which were tape recorded and that these interviews were then edited by CBS and released under the program entitled Minority Report. She said the program would not have any particular sponsor and was a station sustained program. She mentioned that two previous Minority Report programs have been aired in the recent past, one dealing with Negro minority and the other dealing with Mexican minority matters. It was further determined that if the caller would recontact the CBS News Room in about a week more specific detail as to a releasing date of the next Minority Report could be obtained.

In conducting the aforementioned pretext calls, information was forthcoming freely and it was not necessary to disclose in any way the Bureau's interest in this matter.

Los Angeles letter 2/6/56, to the Bureau, entitled Fund for the Republic (Los Angeles 100-35004-48), 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, IS-C, disclosed information received from [redacted] in Los Angeles, to the effect that the Fund for the Republic was attempting to compile information regarding the Japanese internment in the United States during World War II.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

DIRECTOR, FBI

6/18/56

RE: MINORITY REPORT, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM - FUND  
FOR THE REPUBLIC - RADIO PROGRAM - RADIO STATION KKK  
6121 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, California  
RESEARCH MATTER.

28920

Los Angeles memoranda for the Director, dated 5/15/42 regarding Mayor FLETCHER BOWRON, Los Angeles, California, Los Angeles file 94-193-144/145, sets forth a resume of developments surrounding criticism directed at the FBI by Mayor FLETCHER BOWRON, as well as a resume of the information contained in the Los Angeles files relative to BOWRON, which did not relate to his relationship with this Bureau. Evacuation of the Japanese from Southern California figured prominently in certain allegations made by BOWRON at that time, which were derogatory to the FBI.

The Los Angeles Office will determine the exact date the Minority Report program is to be aired and will monitor the program as instructed, advising the Bureau accordingly.

The Los Angeles Office has had a favorable relationship with JACK BECK, head of the CBS- KKK News Room in the past, however, no direct inquiry will be made in this matter of Mr. BECK or others UACB.

MALONE

- P -

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman *116-100/54*

DATE: June 27, 1956

FROM : A. H. Belmont *AM*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

*mt*  
*116-100/54*

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____

Referral/Consult

*Rey:men* (10)

- 1 - Nichols
- 1 - Boardman
- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Conroy
- 1 - Daunt
- 1 - Young
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - yellow

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 BTJ/08

RECORDED - 13

JUL 3 1956

Enclosure *sent 6-29-56*CRIME *116-100/54*

RECORDED COPY FILED

Memorandum to Mr. Boardman

RECOMMENDATION:

Referral/Consult

2to

3/13/44

SM



46672

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

June 29, 1956

A. H. Belmont

JOHN GAGLEY;  
ELMO ROPERALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 208 BTJ/KS

Reference is made to Mr. Jones' memorandum to Mr. Nichols, 6/26/56, which reflected that Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast 6/27/56 stated that the Fund for the Republic (FFR) had just released a study re black-listing in the entertainment and television field written by John Gagley. Lewis also mentioned that Elmo Roper's firm is assisting on a project for the Fund entitled, "Fear in Education." The Director noted, "What do we know re Gagley and Elmo Roper? H"

The Bureau has not investigated Gagley, former executive editor of the "Commonweal," a lay Catholic weekly magazine. Bureau files contain no pertinent information re Gagley other than indicating he has conducted study of black-listing in the motion picture, radio, and television industries, begun in September, 1954, under \$100,000 grant from the FFR. The NSCA announced on 6/26/56 that they have subpoenaed Gagley to appear July 10, 1956, and discuss his recently completed report on "Black-listing." (Washington Post and Times-Herald, 6/29/56; 100-391697-A)

Roper, who since 1933 has been a head of Elmo Roper Associates (marketing consultants), New York City, was the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by Bureau 1941, 1942, and 1951, which developed nothing derogatory. (123-9711; 62-62198) Bureau files show that on 3/16/52, over National Broadcasting Company network, Roper named the Director as third on a list of twelve "most admired" Americans. (62-62198-40) The "New York Herald Tribune" for 12/15/52 carried a Roper story entitled, "Public Endorses the FBI's Handling of Communists." Story stated that a public poll revealed that the Bureau had done the best job of handling the problem of communists in America. (62-62198-41) Irving Ferman, Washington representative of American Civil Liberties Union, advised Mr. Nichols 10/6/55 that he had talked to Roper (member, Board of Directors of FFR) and Roper agreed that the Fund was engaged in political activities rather than in pioneering activities not done by other people. On 1/6/56 Ferman advised that Roper had met with Congressman Walter of the NSCA to discuss the committee's proposed hearing on the Fund. Ferman said that he has never seen anyone so "muddleheaded" as Roper. Roper confided that the Fund's Board of Directors was in complete

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1-Boardman  
1-Nichols  
1-Young  
1-Tickler  
1-Fellow

100-391697-✓  
NOT RECORDED  
46 JUL 9 1956  
INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

None Belmont to Boardman

chaos. On 1/1/56 Ferman advised Bureau that Roper, whom he has known for many years, has no concept of his responsibilities as board member of the Fund. Roper feels that all of their problems are public relations problems and that their projects are satisfactory. He agrees, however, that the Fund has been inept in selecting some of its materials and the big problem is to get rid of Robert Hutchins, the Fund's President. (100-391697-226, 320, 338)

ACTION:

None. For your information.

Mr. Nichols

June 28, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 28, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-29 BY 60883 JDP

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his news broadcast of June 28, 1956, again took up the discussion of the study released by the Fund for the Republic regarding black listing in the radio, motion picture and television industries. He stated that although the report was only released yesterday it is already in trouble, not only from caustic editorial comment, but the House Un-American Activities Committee has subpoenaed the author of the so-called study, John Cogley, as the start of its inquiry as to what the real purposes of the Fund for the Republic are.

Lewis continued by saying that in announcing this action the Committee Chairman, Congressman Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, made the following statement, "In this period of cold war the major battlefield is in the minds of men and the outcome of the issue of our ultimate survival or defeat will be decided upon this battlefield. The mass media of information and entertainment are one of the most sensitive areas of this struggle and the questions which affect them are of crucial importance to the welfare and security of the Nation." Lewis continued by stating that the Congressman had said the report leveled very serious charges against men in the entertainment field, whose efforts have been directed to trying to eliminate menaces of the communist conspiracy in the United States. Lewis stated that Congressman Walter said the Committee wanted to be in the position to pass judgment on the conclusions which the Fund has reached in its survey or to ascertain what influences may have contributed to the character of its charges.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 91-1-2117-325

Lewis stated that Cogley had been hired to conduct the study and was given a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, and that he since has been made an official of the Fund, and it is in this capacity that he will be called to testify.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

FJH:cag

50 JUL 12 1956

INDEXED-30

JUN 28 15 20 BW.22

NOT RECORDED  
141 JUL 5 1956

FBI - WASHINGTON

ones to Nichols memorandum

June 28, 1956

Lewis continued that the officers of the Fund stated that the report did not contain any conclusions or opinions and in Lewis' opinion this was strictly "hogwash."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

July 3, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JULY 2, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8813731-8

Mr. Lewis discussed the Fund For the Republic report on black-listing TV and radio. He said that he was in the process of reviewing material, and it was typical of the Fund For the Republic. He said the whole report was guilty of vagrancy, "meaning that it had no means of support."

He said typical of the comment on the report of Jack Gould of the New York Times (drama editor and who Lewis described as an ultra-liberal) was that the report was not very easy to read and that it rambled.

Lewis pointed out that the writer of the report, John Cogley, had been called before the Un-American Activities Committee by Chairman Walters and Cogley was shocked in that he would have to violate his sources of information.

Lewis then pointed out that the whole report was "phoney." He said that on page one there is an acknowledgment by Cogley and that while Cogley claims that the whole thing is nothing but a factual report he states that the conclusions in the report are his alone and not the views of any member of the staff.

Lewis then goes into a background of "Red Channels," "Aware, Inc." and "Firing Line."

Cogley in his report says that a body of security men form a board and are in league with the advertising men. These security men cut off an artist when there is any indication of subversive activities. This board is purportedly made up of Fred Woltman, George Sokolsky and Victor Riesel.

Lewis also noted that the report contained "black-listing experiences." The identities of the individuals are withheld and there is no way of checking into the facts. Lewis said he was in New York to try and dig up some of the facts. He says that the report cites one case of a leading actress who apparently made a talk before a meeting in Pittsburgh before "Westinghouse Workers For Wallace."

c - Mr. Nichols

c - Mr. Belmont

c - Mr. Boardman

c - Fund For the Republic file 100-391697

CK:grs:fp

(7) 68 JUL 5 1956

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED

47 JUL 5 1956

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

July 3, 1956

He then stated that according to the report this individual had been cut off from television and was now reduced to giving drama lessons. He pointed out that this was a very sad story indeed and that the report made it look like this actress is being black-listed because she addressed a political rally in 1948.

He said such was not the case, that the actress in question was blatantly close to persons associated with the Communist Party and she had attended a Bill of Rights conference which had looked into the police action of the FBI. Lewis noted that it was no objective reporting.

Mr. Nichols

July 3, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
BROADCAST ON 7/3/56

At the conclusion of his broadcast tonight, Mr. Lewis stated that George Sokolsky informed him today that a 1952 meeting at which Sokolsky and Victor Riesel were present, according to the Fund for the Republic's "new phony study on black listing," was a pure figment.

There was no such meeting, Sokolsky told Lewis. Apparently the Fund's report of the meeting was a propaganda attempt to link the names of Sokolsky and Riesel with the name of Harvey Matuso, since Matuso was also listed as attending.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
✓ cc - Fund for the Republic File, 100-391697  
cc - Victor Riesel File, 62-82195  
cc - George Sokolsky File, 62-89885

MLL:lmh  
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-7-89 BY 88073108

279638  
279639

NOT RECORDED  
167 JUL 5 1956

100-391697-

660812 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 7-2-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols *[initials]*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Irving Ferman has learned that Daniel Bell, Labor Editor of Time, who is also doing a project for the Fund For the Republic, has tape recordings of lengthy interviews with Earl Browder.

When the announcement was made of the House Committee investigation Browder got very much concerned about this and discussed the matter of the tapes with David Shapiro of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Ferman thinks that such interviews should be made available to everyone. I told him there was no way whereby we could even ask for the recordings. I did gather that Ferman contemplates getting this information to the House Committee on Un-American Activities although I doubt that he would do it directly.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
 cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:nl  
 (4)

RECORDED

INDEXED - 22

JUL 6 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 4-7-86 BY 9145 JFE/RG/COL

257 7/3  
 4/15/77

815168  
 87-89  
 279638  
 279639

JUL 10 1956

100-391697-381

100-391697



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- Mr. & Supl.  
Nichols  
Boardman  
Belmont  
1 - W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Conroy  
1 - Daunt  
1 - Yount  
1 - Section tickler  
1 - yellow

Via Liaison

Date: June 20, 1956

DECLASSIFIED BY DR357368  
ON 8-7-89

To: Commissioner  
Internal Revenue Service  
Treasury Department  
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Reference is made to the June 20, 1956, request of Assistant Commissioner J. F. Winkle for a check of our files concerning thirty-nine organizations, including the Fund for the Republic, who have applied for tax exemption status.

Enclosed herewith for your information is a monograph which we completed in November, 1955, concerning the Fund for the Republic, which reflects the results of a comprehensive and exhaustive review of our files relative to the activities of this Fund. We are reviewing our files on this organization relative to its activity subsequent to the preparation of the monograph and you will be furnished with a summary of this review upon its completion. In addition we are reviewing our files on the remaining thirty-eight organizations listed in Mr. Winkle's request and you will be furnished with the results when the reviews are completed.

Enclosure

(Cover memo from Belmont to Boardman dated June 27, 1956 re: Fund for the Republic, PCY:men)

PCY:men(11)

RECORDED - 26

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

50 JUL 11 1956

100-291697-39

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mason  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

*McGowan*  
*Slattery*  
*W. C. Sullivan*  
*Boyle*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 28807 J/ap

(FUND)  
BALDWIN, N.Y.--JOHN COGLEY, AUTHOR OF A CONTROVERSIAL FUND FOR THE  
REPUBLIC REPORT, SAID HE DOES NOT THINK IT IS "RIGHT" FOR THE  
HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE TO QUESTION HIM CONCERNING HIS  
CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION.  
COGLEY SAID HE WAS "STUNNED" WHEN HE RECEIVED A SUBPENA FROM  
THE COMMITTEE TO TESTIFY AT A CLOSED HEARING JULY 10.  
THE FORMER EDITOR OF THE CATHOLIC MAGAZINE COMMONWEAL SAID HE  
WOULD ANSWER THE SUBPENA BUT WOULD PREFER TO TESTIFY AT A PUBLIC  
HEARING RATHER THAN A PRIVATE ONE.  
"I DON'T THINK IT IS RIGHT FOR AN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
PEOPLE TO CALL A MAN BEFORE THE COMMITTEE AND ASK HIM TO REVEAL  
CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION," HE SAID. "THE ANSWER IS  
FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FUTURE OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC OR  
JOHN COGLEY."

6/29--TS212P

*yet they howl when  
confidential sources  
are used to ferret out  
traitors!*

*file 6-100*

RECORDED - 49  
INDEXED - 49  
100-391697-341  
JUL 9 1956

57 JUL 12 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 6-25-56

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 BTJ/8

Original filed in:  
66-11716

Pages 9835-9842 Senator Mundt, (R) South Dakota, spoke concerning a report issued by the Fund for the Republic. He also included an article which appeared in the Scripps-Howard newspapers entitled Report Treats Reds Lightly written by Frederick Woltman. References to the FBI, contained in Mr. Mundt's remarks, were set forth in a memorandum written earlier this date.

INDEXED-68

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 6-25-56 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case of subject matter files.

100-391697-392  
NOT RECORDED  
27 JUL 9 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: June 28, 1956

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8035 JAG

SUBJECT: CLASSIFIED LECTURES ON COMMUNISM

Tolson	✓
Nichols	✓
Boardman	✓
Belmont	✓
Mason	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Nease	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

One of the great security problems confronting the Bureau in the immediate future is the problem presented in the ~~current~~ trend of liberals, socialists, and rank-and-file members of the non-Marxist left adopting a soft attitude toward Russians and American communists in particular. We know various examples where such people are attempting to identify American communists with nonconformists generally. Further, we know from informants of the plan of the Communist Party, USA, to form one vast united front in the United States consisting of liberals, progressives, pacifists, socialists, et cetera. We know also how communists use in many different ways petitions, resolutions, and articles sponsored by such people. I refer specifically to a petition filed by 42 prominent persons, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Professor Henry Steele Commager, which called for amnesty for persons serving terms for Smith Act convictions. The activities of the Fund for the Republic is another case in point and its recent comments on the attempts of television and radio to exclude communists from those areas indicate that the Fund for the Republic will cause us more trouble in the future.

In view of the above, in speeches which I will be making on communism and which carry either a secret or top secret classification, I intend to weave into these lectures specific references to the Fund for the Republic and to persons like Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Professor Henry Steele Commager whose words are taken and twisted by the communists to the advantage of the Communist Party program. There may be a calculated risk involved but it is certainly the minimum calculated risk possible because all individuals in such groups are cleared for secret or top secret information. My reason for doing this is as follows: Members of these classified groups day in and day out are bombarded by press articles and other literature which present the soft, flabby, and often sympathetic point of view toward communists. If barraged by a sufficient amount of this over a period of time, it cannot help but have some sort of effect on them. Therefore, it is believed highly desirable to counterattack this type of thing in their minds and point out how communists deceive and use decent liberals, progressives, and pacifists for their own purposes. In order to be most effective in making the point, it is necessary to be specific and to

WCS:mjh

(4)

1 - Section tickler  
1 - Mr. Belmont

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
191 JUL 12 1956

10 JUL 11 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

cite examples and names. If we can alert such people not alone to the security problems caused by communists but also to what is contributed to the problem unknowingly by those that are deceived by communists, then the members of the audience will think about it. On thinking about it, it is quite likely that in conversation with members of their families, members of organizations to which they belong, and members of their own communities, they will point out to their associates how harmful it is to have noncommunists accepting communist viewpoints and ideas, resulting in attacks being delivered against the national security program, national defense efforts, et cetera. We need to get people thinking and talking in the right channels from a security standpoint. Therefore, it is believed highly desirable to stimulate them discreetly to think in this direction while giving classified talks on the subject of communism.

Unless advised to the contrary, I intend to do this carefully in my lectures on communism in the future.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

ADDENDUM: (C- jdd, 6-28-56)

I agree with Sullivan in theory. From a practical viewpoint, I think this approach is dangerous. These people will talk to their families and members of organizations. In so doing they may misinterpret our statements.

at I agree  
1/2

~~at~~  
1/2

I agree  
1/2

6/29

- 2 -

Mr. Rosser agrees that  
no one should be  
mentioned by name

Mr. Nichols

June 29, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JUNE 29, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-7-79 BY 883512 kfp

On his program tonight, Fulton Lewis broadcasted as follows:

John Cogley, who compiled the phoney study of so-called black-listing in the radio, television and motion picture industry on a \$1000,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic, was very unhappy at finding himself under subpoena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee to explain his 600-page opus and says that he thinks it is very, very wicked for the Committee to question his confidential sources of information. He said he was stunned when he received the subpoena and said he did not think it is right for an elected representative of the people to be called before the Committee and ask him to reveal confidential sources of information. The answer to that is far more important than the future of the Fund for the Republic or John Cogley.

Nobody proposes to violate the confidence of Mr. Cogley's sources although he and the rest of the Fund for the Republic are people, as I well remember, are the ones that are constantly yelling that confidential informants are evil. They rant continually about faceless informers, paid witnesses. They say that informers should be forced to come forward and say their story in public and that anonymous testimony or information should never be given credence. Suddenly Mr. Cogley reverses himself and says it is wrong to even propose that he even bring his witnesses forward. He thinks this is a wicked thing.

It is all academic, if you will read his, Cogley's, book, as I advise you not to do, because it is one of the worse literary hodgepodes that I have ever tried to wade through, you will see that there is nothing in this so-called study that involves any confidential sources of information. I am absolutely willing to have Mr. Cogely bring me forward as one of his sources of information, and I will testify as to just how far afield to the facts the items he has in there about me are.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

100-391697-

NOTED  
JUL 1 1956

ELJ:jlb 63 JUL - 3 1956  
(7)

ones to Nichols memorandum

June 29, 1956

I shall be glad to testify as to the items about me and as to my 19 years experience in broadcasting. I have offered to be interviewed by Mr. Cogley. I have never been so interviewed. None of the information I have supplied him with appeared in the study. Obviously he did not want the kind of information I had to offer but he wanted the kind of information that actually appeared in the study. The kind he wanted was designed to show that poor innocent individuals with communist front records or worse lost their jobs in radio because of their political beliefs--political meaning Communist Party.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

FROM : R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: June 28, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/15/81 BY SP-6

8-62587

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Boardman \_\_\_\_\_

Belmont \_\_\_\_\_

Mason \_\_\_\_\_

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_

Parsons \_\_\_\_\_

Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nichols by memorandum to Mr. Tolson dated 6-18-56 stated that Lee Pennington gave him a draft of an outline which J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, contemplates using before the HCUA hearing on the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Nichols suggested that this outline be reviewed by the Domestic Intelligence Division for any flagrant errors. As you know the HCUA has cancelled its hearing on the Fund indefinitely.

A review of the outline has been instituted by our Special Memoranda Unit. The outline, which is highly critical of the Fund, attributes certain quoted statements, writings and alleged communist activities on the part of individuals and organizations connected with the Fund or one of its projects. A preliminary review to verify statements in the outline indicates that substantial amount of the information therein is available in Bureau summaries and investigative reports. However, the outline contains certain information which cannot be verified except by a complete check of Bureau's references. In addition some of the organizations identified as communist fronts are not cited by the Attorney General or Congressional Committees. To completely verify the statements in the outline it would require approximately seventy comprehensive name checks.

The above has been discussed with Inspector DeLoach, who advised that the data contained in the outline should be completely verified for accuracy and that any inconsistencies or supplemental pertinent information be noted separately on each individual or organization concerned. Inspector DeLoach noted, however, that whenever direct quotes are made from speeches, writings, or publications, they need not be verified.

Complete verification of the information contained in the outline will require comprehensive file checks over an extended period

Per:men:vec

(6)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Inspector DeLoach
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

RECORDED - 91

INDEXED - 91

EX-109

100-391697-

393

Review complete. See  
memo, J. A. Brown to  
Roach, 7-20-56, per

UNRECORDED COPY



Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

of time. All available personnel in the Special Memoranda Unit are being utilized to assist in these file reviews, which in view of the fact the HCUA hearing has been postponed indefinitely, will be handled as a project along with our regular work load.

ACTION:

None. For your information

AK  
AASH  
JRS

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 6/18/56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Lee Pennington gave me a draft of the outline which Addington Wagner, the National Commander of the American Legion, contemplates using in his appearance before the HCUA at the forthcoming hearings on the Fund for the Republic. It is suggested that this be reviewed by the Domestic Intelligence Division and if there are any flagrant errors, I think we might call them to the attention of Mr. Pennington.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman  
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc  
 (4)

*Mr. J. W. Boardman  
 7-20-56, pcy*

*none, back to Belmont  
 6-28-56, pcy*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-7-89 BY 60325 Jlg

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-391697-394

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-391697-394

RECORDED - 71

INDEXED - 76

100-391697-394

11A15JL

F328  
 11A15JL

AIRTEL

F B I

Date: 7/2/56  
7:00 PMTransmit the following message via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ATTENTION: CRIME RECORDS SECTION

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (94-489)

MINORITY REPORT - CBS - FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC RADIO PROGRAM, KNX,  
HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA, 7/1/56.

Re LA airtel to the Bureau dated 6/28/56.

Enclosed is a tape recording of above program and three  
copies of a transcript of the pertinent portions taken therefrom.

MALONE

3 - Bureau (Encl. 4)

1 - Los Angeles

LFW/sjk  
(4)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-7-81 BY SP3BSP/p

RECORDED - 91  
INDEXED - 91  
EX - 109

100-391692-395

C NER

40 Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

10 JUL 10 1956

Commentator FRANK GOSS:

To find out what was happening in official circles then, I talked with FLETCHER BOWRON who was Mayor of Los Angeles at that time.

Mayor BOWRON:

There is no way to determine what the facts were. The usual Federal agencies that ordinarily kept in touch with alien residents were deprived of jurisdiction and it was immediately turned over to the FBI, as many will recall, and the FBI just did not give us or anyone else information, and I talked to the Federal agencies and they were just as much in the dark as I was. If there had been reports back from the FBI reassuring that many of these reports were groundless, it wouldn't have been so bad or each case could have been handled in and of itself.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 88350/p

Commentator FRANK GOSS:

I asked Mr. BOWRON if he had ever received any explanation for the FBI's refusal to cooperate with local and Federal agencies.

Mayor BOWRON:

No. I had a rather unpleasant experience in that regard because I went to Washington and talked with some of the Intelligence Agencies of the armed forces and I was asked to make a statement of the situation here in Los Angeles and that was brought out at a conference they had with the FBI, and J. EDGAR HOOVER rather took me to task and I was unpopular for some time because, you know, the FBI is always right, they never make a mistake, and

ENCLOSURE

certainly they never give an explanation for what they do or do not do.

Commentator FRANK GOSS:

We asked our CBS reporters in Washington if they would obtain a comment from the FBI on Mr. BOWRON's statement. The Justice Department declined to make a recorded reply but a spokesman gave this written statement which I quote: The Federal Bureau of Investigation discharges its responsibilities by furnishing appropriate information to authorized persons. Beyond this it does not care to dignify further Mr. BOWRON's assertions with either a denial or explanation. End of statement.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 7/6/56

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

SAC, NEW YORK (62-11509)

SUBJECT:

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Re Bureau airtel, 6/22/56.

Enclosed herewith is one copy of a Three-Year Report  
of subject organization, as requested in referenced airtel.

- 2 - Bureau (100-391697) (Enc.) (RM)
- 1 - NY (62-11509)

ENCLOSURE  
45 EX-109

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-87 BY 20385 JAG  
RECORDED-45

EX-109

100-391697-396

16 JUL 1956

ROM:JK  
(3)

53 AUG 20 1956

LIANSON

Mr. Nichols

July 6, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
BROADCAST, JULY 6, 1956  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8/SJ/ag

In his radio broadcast on Friday, July 6, 1956, Mr. Lewis stated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has issued a subpoena to Arnold Forster, a New York lawyer, in connection with its investigation of the Fund for the Republic's "new phony study of blacklisting in the radio, television and picture industry." He stated that the Committee's first subpoena had been issued to John Cogley, the "ultra-liberal editor of the \$100,000 project " on "blacklisting." He said that after completing the job, Cogley has been taken on as an official of the Fund--"This is becoming an unpleasantly routine procedure, the hiring of someone to do a project, the so called study turns out to be just what the Fund wants it to be with all of the planted propaganda facets; then the individual in charge of the project is taken on to the permanent payroll of the Fund for the Republic as an officer."

Mr. Lewis said that Forster's subpoena has to do with a chapter in Cogley's study entitled "Clearance" which relates to the alleged system by which "blacklisted" persons were required to clear themselves before getting re-employed in either radio or television. An important part of the chapter is an interview with an unnamed person whom Cogley merely describes as a New York public relations expert. (At this point, Mr. Lewis stated that the Fund criticizes the use of "faceless informers" in security cases but does not hesitate to use them itself in its own propaganda to discredit the security system.) The unnamed public relations expert is attributed as the source of information that columnists George Sokolsky, Victor Riesel and Fred Woltman constituted a "mythical clearance board" for persons who were "blacklisted." He said that both Woltman and Sokolsky have denied that any such setup ever existed; whereas the alleged public relations expert claimed a suspected artist would be eligible for re-employment after Sokolsky, Riesel and Woltman signed an affidavit for him.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. P. C. Young, Room 7631  
cc - Bufile 100-391697

GWG:lmh:jfm  
(8)

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
199 JUL 11 1956

**Jones to Nichols Memorandum**

**July 6, 1956**

**Mr. Lewis stated that both Sokolsky and Woltman denied every signing such affidavits and that he has been unable to reach Riesel but he understands Riesel has not either.**

**Mr. Lewis continued that Cogley refused to identify this alleged public relations expert, but the Committee has information that he is Arnold Forster, a New York lawyer. (Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory lists one Arnold Forster, born in 1912 and a graduate of St. John's University in Brooklyn, as an attorney at 225 Broadway, New York City.)**

**Mr. Lewis concluded by noting that the Attorney General today officially asked Congress for legislation to overturn the Supreme Court's decision that the security program of the Federal Government applies only to "critical jobs--not to Government employment in general."**

**RECOMMENDATION:**

**For information.**



Mr. Nichols

July 10, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
July 9, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8(STJ)g

During captioned broadcast, Lewis indicated that they plan to open hearings tomorrow, July 10, 1956, on the Fund For The Republic phony study on black-listing in the radio, television and motion picture industries. He indicated that the first witness was to be the author of the study, John Cogley, who would be quizzed concerning the anonymous individuals interviewed in connection with the study and particularly about the section which tells of a security clearance court in New York City through which persons accused of communist front affiliations had to get clearance in order to get future work in the industries. According to Lewis, he anticipated that Cogley would be on the witness stand all day and on the following day would be called a New York attorney who was reported as the so-called public relations expert who told Cogley about the clearance court and who was supposed to have been on it. Also on Wednesday, Fred Woltman, Scripps-Howard columnist listed as the one who constituted that court and who says it is a figment of the imagination, James O'Neill, Editor of the American Legion Magazine, and Vincent Harkness of New York who has been an advisor to radio and television on security matters, will be called to testify.

Lewis indicated that the hearings had planned to be closed but that late on the afternoon of July 9 Committee Chairman Francis Walter decided to have open hearings.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Fund For The Republic (100-391697)  
cc - Mr. Young (Rm. 7631)

GMP:mbk

(8)

100-391697-✓  
NOT RECORDED  
44 JUL 13 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-4-3117-331

Mr. Nichols

July 11, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
July 10, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 208851398

Mr. Lewis made brief mention this evening of the Fund For The Republic in his broadcast. He stated that John Cogley appeared today before the House Un-American Activities Committee and admitted that the New York public relations "expert" mentioned in the recent Fund For The Republic report on black-listing in radio and television was Arnold Forster. Forster was identified as Chief Counsel of the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith. Also it was brought out, according to Lewis, that a Paul Jacobs, on the Fund staff, actually was a Party member. Lewis quoted Cogley as saying that this membership, however, was a long time ago; thereupon, Lewis commented that Cogley apparently believed that time cures all things. Lewis commented that apparently the Fund For The Republic believed it was all right to employ "faceless informers," as the Fund described them, in studies by the Fund, but when they are used by the Government against communism, then they become "sinister" figures.

Lewis added that it was not hard to determine the purpose of the Fund's study, namely it was an attempt to discredit the loyalty-security program of the Government and that the recent study was similar to other Fund activities in trying to promote an anti-anticommunist program.

Lewis closed by stating that Forster is under subpoena by the House Committee and probably would be questioned on Wednesday or Thursday.

RECOMMENDATION:

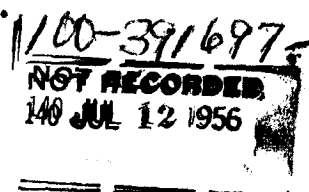
None. For your information.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Fund For The Republic (File 100-391697)  
cc - Mr. Young (Room 7531)

FCS:mbk

77 (8) JUL 12 1956



Letter to Director, FBI

July 11, 1956

Re: FORD FOUNDATION  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

Hair	Brown
Eyes	Blue
Complexion	Fair
Teeth	Extremely white
Build	Youthful, athletic
Appearance	Handsome

He claims service in the German Army in World War II. His present residence is P.O. 85, Gstaad (OB), Switzerland. GREVERS advised that VAN HOEY has a girl friend living in New Jersey whose exact address he stated he could locate if it was needed.

Mr. GREVERS furnished SA CAMPBELL a letter dated June 29, 1956, which he mailed to J. ADDINGTON WAGNER. This letter reads as follows:

"Dear Mr. Wagner,

"The following is a history of Mr. Leo F. Van Hoey, or Leo F. Vanoy (as he now signs himself) as told to me by him. About 36 years of age, born near Haarlem, Holland, he served with the German Army during World War II. (May have been an S. S. Trooper.) He served on the Russian and Baltic fronts, and states that he was sentenced to two years imprisonment in Belgium after the war, for volunteering in the German Army. He informed me that he received his army training in the same camp where S. S. Troops were being trained at the time. I do not recall the location. The subject is presently one of two partners in a boarding school for girls known as 'Institute Alpin Montesano.' It is located in Gstaad, Switzerland. He stated that they cater to the better class families, especially Americans. I seriously doubt if he is a certified professor as he claims, as his educational records were lost during the war. He speaks English, Dutch, French and German fluently, makes a good impression, he claims that his grandfather was a brother to the famous Dutch painter, Van Gogh.

Letter to Director, FBI

July 11, 1956

Re: FORD FOUNDATION  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

"Was admitted for the first time to the United States, August 8, 1955, by Immigration and Naturalization Service as passenger on the S. S. American Defender of the United States Lines. I know, personally, that he had considerable difficulty obtaining visa for entry into the United States because of his background, and gave the immigration officer a letter which he stated was prepared for him by an American consulate officer in Switzerland. I believe he traveled on a Belgian passport. The above is a matter of record with the Immigration and Naturalization Department, Staten Island, New York.

"The university or academy school contemplated by him and Mr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, is to be established here in the United States, and in the beginning is to be affiliated with one of the larger universities, Harvard or Yale, and later is to branch out on its own as it becomes financially stable. I understand, that in the beginning, if any financial assistance is needed, Mr. Hutchins can make these funds available. This school is to be founded on what Mr. Vanoy calls "free thought" or "realistic thinking" and is based on atheistic principles.

"I submit the above information for your consideration, and I enclose correspondence written to me by Mr. Vanoy within the last year. If I can be of further assistance to you, please feel free to call upon me at any time, as you know this office specializes in investigations overseas."

The above is being furnished to the Bureau for its information and no action is being taken by the Detroit Office.

Director, FBI (100-391697)

July 11, 1956

SAC, Detroit (100-24434)

FORD FOUNDATION  
INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-7-89 BY SP8 B7J/af

On July 2, 1956, Mr. THEODORE R. GREVERS, Private Detective Service, Post Office Box 978, Battle Creek, Michigan, advised SA [redacted] that he had been referred to the FBI by J. ADDINGTON WAGNER, National Commander of the American Legion, 100 Guest Street, Battle Creek, Michigan. Mr. GREVERS requested that his identity be kept confidential.

Mr. GREVERS stated that he had recently read about the American Legion's denunciation of Dr. ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, former President of the University of Chicago, and presently the head of the "Fund for the Republic" which receives financial support from the Ford Foundation.

Mr. GREVERS advised that in his travels to Europe, he met a man by the name of VAN HOEY who allegedly operates an exclusive girls school at Gstaad, Switzerland, known as the "Institute Alpin, Montesano." GREVERS said that VAN HOEY has corresponded with him frequently and recently informed GREVERS of definite aid promised by Dr. HUTCHINS to help him (VAN HOEY) "create a new university - the idea of which will make the headlines of both our continents." This school, according to GREVERS, would be located in the United States.

GREVERS said that VAN HOEY is an avowed atheist and materialist and GREVERS felt that his association with Dr. HUTCHINS should be noted. Mr. GREVERS described VAN HOEY as follows:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Age	36
Height	5' 10"
Weight	175 lbs.

- 4 - Bureau (REGISTERED)  
② - "Fund for the Republic"  
2 - Detroit  
(1 - 100-24074) ("FUND For the Republic")

100-391697- ✓

NOT RECORDED  
JUL 23 1956

JLM:rmr  
(6)

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

71 JUL 23 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-418797-1

b6  
b7c

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

July 12, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-7-89 BY SP8BJJ/af

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC**

Fulton Lewis, Jr., Broadcast

July 11, 1956

Mr. Lewis devoted a major portion of his broadcast tonight to a report of today's proceedings of the Committee headed by REP. Francis E. Walter concerning the report covered last week by a group formed to make a study of black-listing in the entertainment field. According to Mr. Lewis the Study took a shellacking at the hearings and the most significant turn of event, was the testimony by Arnold Forster, Chief Counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in repudiating the account of most of the material allegedly supplied by him. Cogley admitted on the previous day that he had built his entire report around the interview with a previously unnamed New York public relations counselor and later identified this man as Forster.

During Forster's testimony, Representative Walter said he does not believe any black-listing ever took place. Forster disagreed with this conclusion. However, in Lewis' opinion, the testimony today clearly showed that the study was a sham and an ill-concealed attempt to give publicity to the procommunist point of view.

Scripps-Howard reporter, Frederick Woltman, who had been named in the study as one of those who could give clearance to persons previously black-listed, testified and stated that it was utterly ridiculous to even suggest such a thing. Mr. Woltman mentioned that Robert M. Hutchins, head of the Fund For The Republic, acts on the theory that it is all right to hire communists, and he pointed out that one of Cogley's chief assistants, Elizabeth Poe of Los Angeles, was formerly affiliated with "Time" magazine and very active in the Communist Party while so employed.

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Fund For The Republic File (100-391697)

cc - Mr. Young (Room 7631)

RGE:mbk

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED

46 JUL 13 1956

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

July 12, 1956

Mr. Lewis added that Cogley admitted that he hired Poe as someone possibly friendly to the Communist point of view to balance the viewpoint of Paul Jacobs, another researcher whom he described as a former communist who was not opposed to communism. He also admitted that he was particularly grateful to Poe and Jacobs for their contributions to the study. Chairman Walter was reported as saying that the evidence disclosed at the hearings clearly indicated that the entire project was planned in favor of communism and that a tax exempt status should be speedily withdrawn.

THE AFFORDED THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Mr. Lewis mentioned the remarks of James F. O'Neill, former National Commander of the American Legion, and George Sokolsky, who had been cited with Woltman as one of the persons capable of "clearing" persons formerly black-listed. O'Neill stated that the account of the study of the activities of the American Legion in the fight against subversives was distorted if not absolutely untrue. He claimed that the Legion never did engage in clearance activities. Sokolsky sent a statement to the committee denying his role as it was described in the report. He stated that the type of incomplete reporting and inconclusive evidence used in the report was an instance of what is usually described as "McCarthyism."

Mr. Lewis also mentioned that Senator Joseph McCarthy, (R--Wisc.), attacked the appointment of Paul Hoffman as an American United Nations delegate on the floor of the Senate. He described Hoffman as a charter member of the Civil Liberties "gang."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 7-12-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Fulton Lewis told me that he has learned that the Fund For the Republic has made a grant of \$22,500 to Marjorie (phonetic) Lowenthal who is a professor of sociology and had been at Columbia University and I believe at Stanford University, that this grant was to make a study of the selection of books and book censorship on the part of librarians. He immediately smelled another rat and is checking on Marjorie Lowenthal.

I told him that I doubted seriously that she was a daughter of Max. I do not find that we have ever investigated her. We do have references to a Marjorie Lowenthal in Washington who was a member of the Washington Book Shop Association in 1942 and Marjorie Fisk who married Professor Leo Lowenthal in 1953, a Marjorie Lowenthal who was to speak at the home of Attorney and Mrs. Sidney A. Jones, Jr., 5341 South Maryland, Hyattsville, on the highlights of the National Negro Committee and a Marjorie Lowenthal was listed with a group of the Independent Citizens' Committee who sponsored an Americanism Rally in 1945.

There is no way of telling whether any of these are identical with the one that Lewis has in mind. He will let us know as soon as he gets any additional information.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:nl  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-7-89 BY 33215108

RECORDED - 15

INDEXED - 15

EX-100

100-391691-391

17 JUL 17 1956



Mr. Nichols

July 13, 1956

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY 208151 Jaf

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JULY 13, 1956

Mr. Lewis referred to the President's nomination of Paul G. Hoffman as an American delegate to the United Nations and added that Senator Walter George of the Foreign Relations Committee stated that his committee would study the appointment next Tuesday morning, July 17, 1956. Mr. Lewis added that politically Hoffman's appointment was rather foolish because this was unnecessary since Hoffman was so personally obnoxious to so many millions of Americans. He described Hoffman as a fake intellectual, a dilettante, who was so far over on the liberal left side as to be nearly out of sight. Mr. Lewis said that Mr. Hoffman is one of the leaders in that Republican faction which has been out for a long time to assassinate Vice President Nixon politically and added that Hoffman fancies himself in the position of the possible Vice Presidential nominee. Mr. Lewis said he feels Hoffman's nomination can be viewed dimly because of the publicity which has been turned on the latest project which Hoffman refers to as black-listing in the entertainment field.

This commentator referred to the black-listing report as a group of lies straight down the Communist Party line.

Mr. Lewis referred to further witnesses who appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) today including Godfrey P. Smith, a New York lawyer, who described the black-listing report as being down the communist line. Another witness was Paul R. Milton, a radio writer, who stated that the report was based on statements from people who didn't know what they were talking about. Mr. Lewis also mentioned Victor Riesel, who had been described as a member of the clearance board which allegedly acted upon the request of black-listed performers to get back into the trade and said Mr. Riesel, the blind labor columnist, said actions attributed to him in the report are lies.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Young (Room 7631)  
cc - Fund For The Republic File (100-391697)

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
199 JUL 17 1956

CEM:mbk

(8)

JUL 18 1956

Mr. Lewis said that in the course of today's hearings, Representative Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the HCUA, stated that the hearings would continue and that the committee would study the case of Mary Knowles. Mary Knowles is a librarian of the Plymouth Quaker Meeting House near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, according to Mr. Lewis, who was fired from a previous job as a librarian at Norwood, Massachusetts, after she took the Fifth Amendment before an investigating committee. He stated that Paul Hoffman through the Ford Fund For The Republic gave \$5,000 to the Plymouth Quaker Meeting House for the sole reason that they hired Mary Knowles. He said this is the same Paul G. Hoffman who was nominated today by the President to be an American representative to the United Nations. Mr. Lewis questioned whether this is the type person we should have representing the United States in anything.

Mr. Lewis also made reference to the "Washington Daily News" editorial today which called the black-listing report a fraud.

Mr. Lewis concluded his program by saying he was going to take a 2-week vacation starting Monday.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *1/16/56*

DATE: July 13, 1956

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson	✓
Nichols	✓
Boardman	✓
Belmont	✓
Mason	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Nease	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

The 7/2/56 issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, reported that the Fund for the Republic has stated it has made vigorous attempts to interest film, radio and television outlets in films and scripts dealing with civil liberties but so far there are no buyers. Of the twenty scripts which won prizes in the Fund's competition held more than a year ago, all but two were rejected for the screen, radio and TV, according to the "Daily Worker." The article stated that one of these two "reached the TV screens reasonably intact." The other, a story of a Negro child in an all-white class in school, was distorted into a dubious story of a white child in an all-Negro classroom. A third was sold but never used. None of the scripts were identified by title in the article.

According to the above article, the Fund offered no explanation for the lack of success they were having with their scripts and films, one film (not identified) was turned down by TV executives as "too controversial."

It is noted that in December, 1954, \$75,000 was appropriated by the Fund for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. The "Daily Worker" of September 16, 1955, reported that the Fund awarded 19 prizes for original television scripts in the drama and documentary class. One script entitled "A Minority of One," by Mrs. Kristin E. Hunter, dealt with desegregation in Camden, New Jersey, through the true situation of the only white student in a class of Negroes. It is noted that this is in contradiction to the statements contained in the "Daily Worker" of 7/2/56 intimating that one of the scripts was distorted.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY 2082 BTJ/af

RECORDED - 28

INDEXED - 28

100-391697-398

14 JUL 18 1956

ENCLOSURE

PCY:vec/aeu

(6)

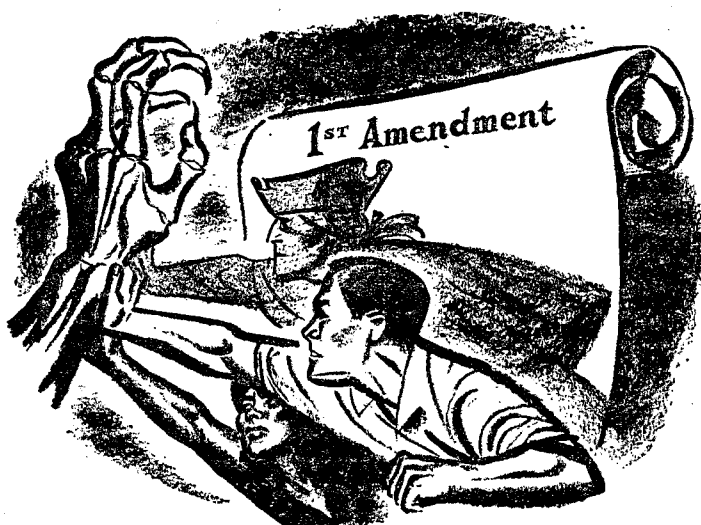
- 1 - Nichols
- 1 - Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

EX-120

JUL 20 1956

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# TV Rejects 'Controversy' Says Fund for Republic



The Fund For the Republic says it has made vigorous attempts to interest film, radio and television outlets in films and scripts dealing with civil liberties but so far there are no buyers.

Of twenty scripts which won prizes in the Fund For the Republic's competition held more than a year ago, all but two were rejected for the screen, radio and TV.

One of those two "reached the TV screens reasonably intact."

The other, a story of a Negro child in all-white class in school was distorted into a dubious story of a white child in an all-Negro classroom.

A third was sold but never used. The producer claimed the studio had an overabundance of dramatic material.

This amid widespread complaints of a dearth of good plays.

Julien Bryan, the documentary film producer who was one of the

judges in the Fund For the Republic competition around the general theme of civil liberties said most of the scripts were "extremely good. They were unique because they didn't pull any punches. It would be a shame to put them in a junk pile."

The Fund For the Republic offered no explanation for the lack of success they were having with their scripts and films, one of which was as an experimental pilot film privately produced by Worthington Miner, directed by Sidney Lumet and written by Reginald Rose and Rod Serling—all top names in television. The TV executives turned it down cold as "to controversial."

Industry-wide reports, said one observer, indicated "an increasing reluctance on the part of advertising agencies to use performers or material which 'won't sell tooth-paste in Alabama'."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-7-89 BY 3038 BTJ/af

*Throck*  
*for*  
*Greene*

*memo Belmont to*  
*7/13/56 PCY*

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily Worker 7 \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date JUL 2 1956

100-371697-398  
 ENCLOSURE

## Intimidation by Inquiry

John Cogley, former editor of *The Commonwealth* and author of a recent report on blacklisting published by The Fund for the Republic, has been subpoenaed to appear today before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Committee chairman, Rep. Francis Walter, has said that he wants Mr. Cogley to discuss the report and to divulge, in executive session, the names of entertainers blacklisted and the names of the blacklists. This is, we suggest, an inquiry of dubious propriety on the part of a congressional committee.

The Constitution expressly forbids Congress to make any law abridging the freedom of the press; and implicitly it forbids Congress to abridge freedom of the press by calling an author to account for what he has written. Freedom of the press would be very seriously abridged if writers stood in fear of being haled before a congressional committee whenever they expressed opinions on controversial issues. Statements in the report have been challenged by certain individuals; whatever the merit of these challenges, Congress is not the place to resolve them.

Moreover, the Un-American Activities Committee has no business trying to make a writer reveal names which he has undertaken to keep in confidence. Freedom of the press would be seriously abridged if committees of Congress ignored the obligation of reporters to maintain the confidentiality of sources of information.

If the Un-American Activities Committee wants assistance or advice from Mr. Cogley, it is, of course, at liberty to invite him to come and testify. An invitation is very different from a subpoena. The tactics of the Committee invite the supposition, however, that its intent is more retaliation than information. Presumably Mr. Cogley has said all that he wants to say on the subject of blacklisting in his voluminous report.

Even a courteous invitation may raise some questions, depending on the circumstances. A couple of weeks ago the House Appropriations Committee invited a representative of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* to come to Washington and answer questions concerning an editorial entitled "Losing the Peaceful Atom." The newspaper declined the invitation, explaining its stand in these words:

If an editor were to answer official questions as to how he formed his opinions and to describe the sources on which they were based, his conduct would encourage other committees to make similar demands on editors. Such a development would place freedom of the press under fear of congressional inquiry and thus restrict the information of the people. The consequences could be far-reaching and ominous.

We earnestly suggest to Representative Walter that he and his committee colleagues read Mr. Cogley's report—and that they leave Mr. Cogley him-

Tolson ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Boardman ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mason ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Parsons ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tamm ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Gandy ☒

BAUMGARDNER

and this is  
 the Wash. Post  
 which howls  
 a "faceless  
 informer"

Wash. Post and Times Herald  
 Wash. News  
 Wash. Star  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune  
 N. Y. Mirror  
 N. Y. Daily News  
 Daily Worker  
 The Worker  
 New Leader

Date JUL 10 1956

file 100-29100

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2-7-89 BY 2028071/af

EX-122  
 RECORDED-85

100-391677-399  
 JUL 12 1956

JUL 31 1956  
 JUL 24 1956

11 (Rev. 6-7-56)  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

56

TO:

— Director	— Mr. Nease, 5744
— Mr. Tolson, 5744	— Miss Gandy, 5633
— Mr. Boardman, 5736	— Mr. Holloman, 5633
— Mr. Belmont, 1742	— Records Section
— Mr. Mason, 5256	— Pers. Records, 6631
— Mr. Mohr, 5517	— Reading Room, 5531
— Mr. Parsons, 7621	— Mail Room, 5533
— Mr. Rosen, 5706	— Teletype, 5644
— Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB	— Code Room, 4642
— Mr. Sizoo, 1742	— Mechanical, B-114
— Mr. Nichols, 5640	— Supply Room, B-216
— Mr. McGuire, 5642	— Tour Room, 5226
— Mr. Wick, 5634	— Miss Lurz
— Mr. DeLoach, 5636	— Miss Mathers
— Mr. Morgan, 5226	— Miss Carter
— Mr. Jones, 4236	— Mrs. Faber
— Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB	— Miss McCord
— Mr. Waikart, 7204	— Miss Loper
— Mr. Eames, 7206	— Miss Price
— Mr. Wherry, 5537	— Miss Gibson

— See Me

— For Your Info

— For appropriate  
action

— Note & Return

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/30/86 BY SP1029/ML

877312/287

877312/287

L. B. Nichols  
Room 5640, Ext. 691

*A* memo  
from

IRVING FERMAN

6/25/56

Thought you might be interested  
in the attached.

100-391697-400

11/19/01 1781 TLE/PSK 286305 001

279639  
279638

20815131288-789  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/86 BY SP1 AG/9lt

10/7/88 #285232  
SP1 AG/9lt c#266,819

Enclosure Behind file

8/7/75  
Auge 2.7 McMillan

SP1 AG/9lt 11-1-58  
282749

RECORDED - 14  
INDEXED - 10

100-391697-400

JUL 22 1956

8/1/58  
478

53 AUG 3 1956

EX-120

EX-120

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *hm*

DATE: July 2, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LN*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
HEARING BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIESALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-7-89 BY SP3 *af*

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Karl Baarslag, a member of the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has advised that hearings on one phase of the activities of the captioned organization will begin July 10, 1956. The hearings will principally concern the recent report of John Cogley regarding "Blacklisting" in the radio and television industry. Subpoenas have been issued for Cogley, Marie Jahoda and Michael Harrington.

The annual report of the Fund for the Republic dated May 31, 1955, reflected that Harrington was assigned to assist in the preparation of the above-mentioned report. He is an employee of the Fund for the Republic, as is Marie Jahoda. Cogley has been director of the inquiry into blacklisting in the entertainment field. Baarslag stated his Committee had very little to go on and that if any public source guidance could be given, he would be deeply appreciative.

The Bureau has not investigated Cogley, former executive editor of the "Commonweal," a lay Catholic weekly magazine. Bureau files contain no pertinent information re Cogley other than indicating he has conducted study of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio, and television industries, begun in September, 1954, under \$100,000 grant from the FFR. The HCUA announced on 6-28-56 that they have subpoenaed Cogley to appear July 10, 1956, and discuss his recently completed report on "Blacklisting." (Washington Post and Times-Herald, 6-29-56; 100-391697-A)

There is attached a summary on Michael Harrington, who assisted Cogley, dated 9-9-55. He is on the Security Index and there is considerable information concerning him. As of May 29, 1956, he was National Chairman of the Young Socialist League and a recognized leader of this organization. Many of his articles have appeared in "Labor Action" and other prominent newspapers espousing the Communist Party line.

There is additionally attached a summary memorandum dated 9-9-55 regarding Marie Jahoda. We investigated her in 1954 in connection with the Voice of America Program. She has been described as being a leftist in her leanings and the Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee gave an unfavorable opinion regarding her application for an immigration visa on 2-25-44. The Board of Appeals later rendered a favorable opinion.

CDD:hpf

(2) Enclosures

INDEXED - 63

100-391697-1/1



Office, Mr.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: July 13, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-81 BY 2023 SJP/SPSUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
JULY 12, 1956

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

On his 7 p.m. broadcast last night, Fulton Lewis, Jr., mentioned both the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation. He stated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has branded the Fund for the Republic so-called study of what it called blacklisting in the radio, television and motion picture industry as a fraud, a hoax and a phony. Mr. Lewis said that the author of the study, John Cogley, has since been rewarded by being elected an officer of the Fund. Forty-year-old Vincent W. Hartnett, former FBI Agent and one of the originators of "Counterattack," the anticommunist weekly newsletter, and more lately a security consultant for radio networks and advertising agencies in New York, according to Lewis, stated that Cogley is either willfully ignorant or is a rogue. Hartnett reportedly testified that only about five per cent of the communists and communist sympathizers in the radio and television industry have been exposed by public agencies such as the House Un-American Activities Committee. Hartnett reportedly said that the public is being "brainwashed" through a process of what he called "parallelism"; that is presenting plays which parallel the propaganda themes of the communist conspiracy. Lewis pointed out that Roy Brewer, a former leader of a motion picture union in Hollywood and now an executive for a movie producer, said that the blacklisting study is sheer fiction and that no such system ever existed. Lewis reported that Chairman of the Committee, Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, later said in a speech in Philadelphia that the Fund for the Republic report is nothing more than a propaganda effort to make people believe that entertainers in the radio and television field are being penalized for their political beliefs and that innocent people are being destroyed by a group of extremists and crackpots.

Mr. Lewis then mentioned the jury tapping activities of the University of Chicago under grants totaling \$1,400,000 by the Ford Foundation. He said that the Senate Committee which had begun an immediate investigation upon learning of the activity, today made its report, and in its conclusions found

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631  
cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

NOT RECORDED  
149 JUL 20 1956

6 JUL 18 1956

CRIME REC.

ORIGINAL FILE IN

Jones to Nichols memorandum

July 13, 1956

that the Ford Foundation in connection with its financing ~~its~~ project exercised no supervision, required no report and made no scrutiny of personnel. The Committee recommendations were to the effect that a transcript of the hearings would be submitted to the Attorney General for his examination and determination as to whether any violation of the law occurred during the operation of the project by the University of Chicago; that a copy of the transcript be ~~submitted~~ to the Internal Revenue Service to determine whether the use of funds for an interference of jury functions is compatible with the conditions under which an organization such as the Ford Foundation receives exemptions from taxes; that legislation be enacted speedily to prevent further violations of the sanctity of Federal jury rooms; that the Senate Finance Committee examine the testimony with a view to determining whether restrictions should be placed upon the manner by which funds of tax-exempt organizations may be used; and that the representatives of the University of Chicago voluntarily destroy all recording tapes, transcripts, records, etc., which grew out of the jury deliberations.

Mr. Lewis pointed out that the University of Chicago is the old stamping grounds of Robert Maynard Hutchins, the President of the Fund for the Republic. Lewis stated that the real head and originator of the Fund for the Republic is Paul G. Hoffman and that the jury tapping activities in Chicago, according to the annual report of the Ford Foundation, originated in 1952 at a time when Hoffman was President of the Ford Foundation which made the grants. Lewis went on to say that this is the same Paul G. Hoffman who the White House proposes to appoint to the American delegation to the United Nations Organization. Lewis then wondered whether the White House would submit Hoffman's name to the Senate for confirmation or slyly wait until Congress adjourns and grant Hoffman a recess appointment. Lewis stated that it is highly improbable that the Senate would confirm the appointment.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

✓

10311  
g

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To: Mr. ~~Laurie~~ <sup>W. Nichols</sup>,  
Dep. Dir., FBI

Dear Lou -  
For whatever it  
may be worth!

Bill

WILLIAM F. HEIMLICH

Washington, D. C.

100-391697-403

20 JUL 26 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-7-89 BY 20815 JTS

INDEXED-92

RECORDED-92

62 AUG 3 - 1956

EX-120

J. B. Matthews  
50 Riverside Drive  
New York 24, N. Y.

June 25, 1956

Digest of Current Communist Activities

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY SP8 BJJ/af

In its Report on Blacklisting published today, the Fund for the Republic has kicked the free press in the teeth.

If it is a noble journalistic enterprise to expose, by naming names, dates, and organizations, the mobsters of the labor union rackets, why is it not even more noble to expose the Communist-front apparatus with the names of those who support it?

The Fund for the Republic, running true to form, answers that the exposure of Communist fronts and fronters is something of a despicable business which violates civil liberties, freedom of thought and speech, due process, and protection of the individual against group pressures.

The 2-volume, 599-page Report on Blacklisting was prepared under the direction of one John Cogley, a notorious leftist who has become a specialist in anti-anti-Communism. The Fund for the Republic does not hesitate to exploit the fact of Cogley's religion, calling very special attention to his editorship of the Catholic weekly Commonweal.

In addition to its assault on the free press and free discussion, the Report on Blacklisting has brought joy to the hearts of those who conspire against the security of the United States. Today is gleeful -- not blue -- Monday for the Communists and their fellow travelers.

In the course of his study, Mr. Cogley called upon Mrs. Dorothy B. Jones, a sociologist and a reputed propaganda analyst, to make a survey of the film content of the films on which the Hollywood Ten worked. The Hollywood Ten were Communists who served prison terms for contempt of Congress pursuant to their defiance of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947.

100-391697-403

Mrs. Jones came up, as was to be expected, with the conclusion that "nothing subversive or 'un-American' has appeared on the screen." This is far from saying that Communist screen writers did not successfully inject their class-struggle ideology into films.

In contrast to Mrs. Jones' jumble of words which signify nothing, we have the first-hand evidence of known Communists to the effect that a part of their infiltration of Hollywood involved the doctoring of original stories to make them give out the Marxist message. Writing in the Communist New Masses of September 14, 1943, Paul ~~Trivers~~, a known Communist film scenarist, "shows how the screen writer can, and does, add to the original material." Trivers takes up the case of John Howard Lawson, top Hollywood Communist screen writer and one of the Hollywood Ten, and gives concrete instances of how Lawson "changed the characters and, inevitably, the plot-scheme" of a story to bring it into line with the current tactics of the Communist Party. Mrs. Jones ignores the New Masses article by Paul Trivers.

On pages 89 and 90 of volume II of Report on Blacklisting, Cogley quotes at length an anonymous "New York public-relations expert" who told -- allegedly -- a fantastic tale of his techniques of "clearance" for those who had been accused of pro-Communist affiliations. The Fund for the Republic does not dare to reveal the identity of this so-called "New York public-relations expert." If he exists, he is a liar and a fraud, and could easily be exposed as such. For what other reason did Mr. Cogley cloak him with protective anonymity? The Fund for the Republic has been screaming against anonymous informants!

Until a bigger hoax upon the public and for the benefit of the Communist-front apparatus comes along, Mr. Cogley's so-called study of blacklisting will have to serve the purpose.

J. B. Matthews  
50 Riverside Drive  
New York 24, N. Y.

June 18, 1946

### Digest of Current Communist Activities

The total Communist apparatus is highly diversified in function and organization. As the following list indicates, this apparatus includes publishing concerns, book stores, magazines, newspapers, meeting places, entertainment groups, musical organizations, recreation groups, research organizations, theatres, forums, schools, and agitational committees.

The greater part of the Communist apparatus of the United States is located in New York City.

Units of the Communist apparatus are listed in the following pages. All of these are in the New York area. The list does not pretend to be complete. A thorough investigation would undoubtedly discover others.

Many of these organizations have never been mentioned in the hearings and reports of congressional committees. No congressional committee has ever made a complete and systematic canvass of the Communist-action and Communist-front organizations, either in the country as a whole or in a given locality.

The diversified character of the whole Communist apparatus would come as a surprise to most Americans.

In addition to the Communist organizations listed here, numerous fly-by-night or ad hoc Communist committees come and go. They issue a single manifesto or open letter and then disappear before any congressional investigating committee can expose them for what they are.

The average American who is interested in informing himself concerning the names and activities of Communist-front organizations is usually years behind. His understanding of the Communist apparatus would be greatly assisted if he could have access to such information while it is at least relatively current.

There is a popular fallacy to the effect that the Communists are inactive unless they are engaged in underground operations of sabotage and espionage. The mere listing of the following Communist enterprises will suggest the extent of Communist activities in the fields of infiltration, penetration, and propaganda which are open and above board.

Pro-Communist Enterprises Operating in the New York Area, 1956

Allabon Hotel (Lakewood, N. J.)  
Allerton Community Center  
Allerton Freedom of the Press Committee  
American Association of Scientific Workers  
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
American Labor Party  
Armenian Progressive League of America  
Arrowhead Lodge (Ellenville, N. Y.)  
Art of Today Gallery  
Artkino  
ASP Photographic Workshop  
AST Writing and Publishing Forum  
Bath Beach Community Center  
Beethoven Hall  
Bodford Stuyvesant Freedom of the Press Association  
Borliners  
Bill of Rights Fund  
Book World  
Bookfair  
Braden-Wade Defense Committee  
Brighton Community Center  
Bronx Committee for Freedom of Political Prisoners  
Bronx Freedom of the Press Committee  
Bronx Sobell Committee  
Brooklyn Committee for Jewish Education  
Brooklyn Committee for Negro Representation in Congress  
Brooklyn Freedom of the Press Association  
Brooklyn Heights Guardian Club  
Broxaville Labor Youth League  
Cameo Theatre  
Camera Association  
Camp Highland  
Camp Lakeland  
Camp Midvale  
China Daily News  
Citizens Emergency Defense Committee  
Club Cinema  
Committee to Celebrate William Z. Foster's Birthday  
Committee to Defend the Kwaka  
Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell  
Committee of Women, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship  
Coney Island Center  
Conference for Legislation in the National Interest  
Contemporary Forum  
Co-op Committee for a Free Press  
Coop Library Committee  
Cooperative Library  
Current Events Forum (Newark, N. J.)  
Daily Worker  
East Bronx Jewish Club  
East New York Emma Lazarus Club  
East New York Freedom of the Press Committee

East Tremont Labor Youth League  
Edith Segal Dance Group  
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee  
Emergency Committee for a Free Press  
Ernst P. Boas Memorial Fund  
Far East Reporter  
Farm Research  
Fine Arts Theatre  
Folksay Dance Group  
Folksay Theatre  
Four Continent Book Corporation  
Freedom  
Freedom of the Press Committee in Williamsburg  
Gallant Herald Press  
Garment Freedom of the Press Committee  
Gensup Stationery Company  
German American  
Greenwich Mews Theatre  
Harry Meloff Center  
Horizon Press  
Imported Publications & Products  
Independent Social Club  
Inter-Group Committee for Negro Representation in Queens  
Intergroup Committee on New York Public Schools  
International Publishers  
IWO Policyholders Protective Committee  
Jefferson School of Social Science  
Jewish Life  
Jewish Music Alliance  
Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus  
Jewish Shul Parents Council  
Jewish Young Folk Singers  
Jewish Youth Dancers  
Kinderland Parents Association  
Labor Research Association  
Labor Youth League  
Latin America Today  
Latin American Research Bureau  
Liberty Book Club  
Liberty Book Club Forum  
Library for Intercultural Studies  
Long Island Conference on Civil Rights  
Mandolin Symphony Orchestra  
Manhattan Freedom of the Press Committee  
March of Labor  
Masses and Mainstream  
Master Institute  
Metropolitan Music School  
Midvale Camp Corporation  
Monthly Review  
Monthly Review Associates  
Morning Freiheit  
Morton Sobell Defense Fund  
National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership



National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act  
National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell  
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship  
National Guardian  
Neighborhood Cultural Committee  
New Cameo Theatre  
New Century Dancers  
New Century Publishers  
New Challenge  
New World Review  
New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
New York Labor Youth League  
New York Teacher News  
Open Stage, The  
Pantomime Art Theatre  
Party Voice  
Peoples Artists  
Phoenix Theatre  
Physicians Forum  
Political Affairs  
Polonia Club  
Prompt Press  
Provisional Citizens Committee for May Day 1956  
Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi  
Publishers New Press  
Religious Freedom Committee  
Rights  
Ring Theatre  
Rudolph Skrek Club (Queens)  
Science & Society  
Seamen's Defense Committee  
Shore Front Fraternal Club  
Sierra Press  
Singers for Freedom  
Sobell Youth Committee  
Spanish-American Youth Bureau  
Standard Brand  
Stanley Theatre  
Surf Avenue Cultural Club  
Swapping Song Fair  
Teachers Center  
Teachers Union  
Topical Theatre Group  
Trade Union Freedom of the Press Committee  
Venture  
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade  
Vets for Peace  
Vets Voice for Peace  
Vito Marcantonio Memorial  
Wingdale on the Lake  
Worker, The  
Workers Bookshop  
World Fellowship  
Yorkville Compass Forum

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: July 24, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Mickey Ladd made available a copy of a letter which a Professor William E. Fort, Jr., of Winter Park, Florida, sent to the Fund for the Republic, criticizing the Fund for the Republic for sending out a brochure advertising a phonograph record entitled "The Trial of Socrates," which the professor says tries to draw a parallel between Socrates' trial and that of the present-day communists.

It is suggested that an inquiry be made to determine just what this record is. Perhaps we should get a copy of it.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:rm  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 60325J/af

100-391697-404

AUG 1 1956

EX 104  
ENCLOSURE  
RECORDED - 52  
EX 104  
INDEXED - 52

Ante to SAC  
7-27-56  
63 AUG 3 - 1956

C O P Y

1951 Forrest Road  
Winter Park, Fla.  
May 8, 1956

An Open Letter to:  
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.  
60 East 42nd Street,  
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

As a professor of Philosophy in a Southern college, I have just received a form letter apparently sent around to all teachers. It was signed by Mr. Robert M. Hutchins for THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. Also, there was enclosed a brochure entitled, "The Trial of Socrates" which advertises a phonograph record of the trial of Socrates and, by implication, apparently tries to draw a parallel between Socrates' trial and that of present-day communists in our country.

The implications contained in the brochure are completely false and misleading. There is absolutely no parallel between the trial of Socrates and our government's security efforts against communists. Socrates was no Marxist. Indeed, he was quite the opposite in philosophy and character. He was a man in search of wisdom and truth. Wisdom and truth are completely denied in communist theory. Socrates was a profoundly religious man. Communists deny religion. Socrates believed in the human soul and in its immortality. Communists deny the reality of the human soul and of its immortality. Socrates believed in obeying the laws of his country, even at the cost of his life. Communists have no respect for the laws of our country. Socrates was intensely loyal to his country. Communists are traitors. Socrates was an idealist. Communists are gross, crude, dialectical materialists. Socrates believed in spiritual reality. Communists deny the spirit. Socrates believed profoundly in basic, changeless moral principles. Communists deny any such morality. Socrates believed that ethically the means must be consistent with the end. Communists believe in the use of any means whatsoever (lying, cheating, murder, deception etc.) in attaining their end. Socrates affirms freedom (NOT THE LICENSE TO DESTROY FREEDOM) within the limits of Divine and moral laws and the laws of the country in which he chose to live and enjoy protection. Communists would destroy all freedom and yet it is a part of the current communist Party line to claim the license to destroy our freedom. Socrates was a man of honor. Communists do not know the meaning of the word, "honor". Socrates was a man of great balance and sanity. Communists are fanatics of the type having much in common with paranoid insanity. Socrates was profound. The communists are extremely superficial. Socrates was a true intellectual. Communists are pseudo-intellectuals. Socrates was a great man. Communism is a petty, evil theory which appeals to warped minds filled with delusions of grandeur and of persecution.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 880513/af

100-391697-404  
ENCLOSURE

It is difficult for loyal Americans to see how THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC can continue to lend its efforts and money in what may well result in undermining the security efforts of our government to protect our freedom from the Red-Fascist movement of Communism. Our government is not objecting to what you imply as "the novelty" of communist ideas. Indeed, the ideas of communism are as old and outworn as the tyranny it represents. Neither does our government object to so-called questions which might, as you say, "embarrass those in charge of the government". There are no questions that a communist qua communist, could ask that would embarrass anyone except those who are apologists for communism. Nor is our country objecting to teachers questioning "beliefs that everyone thinks are sacred". Wide varieties of criticisms are constantly made of various efforts within our country. The line is drawn only where the freedom and safety of others becomes threatened. Communism is a conspiracy of evil aimed at the utter destruction of the freedom and safety of our citizens. Hence, as destroyers and negators of freedom, communist teachers have no valid claim for freedom to carry on their nefarious work. Nor does our country object to "changes" and improvements as long as they are genuine improvements, consistent with freedom within our Constitution. It does and should, however, object to changes which lead to totalitarianism and the enslavement of our citizens.

It is the sincere hope of countless loyal Americans that the Directors of THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC will see the continued error of their ways in supporting and spreading viewpoints which contain within them the possibility of doing real harm to the safety and freedom of our country and our people. No balanced and informed citizen can validly deny that the communist conspiracy is our real enemy. The American people ask that all loyal people and foundations join in the battle to preserve our Constitutional Republic against the evil power of the Reds.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ William E. Fort, Jr.

William E. Fort, Jr.

we should try to  
get the Record  
m

12/21/51

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

V, 1956

TO:

___ Director	___ Mr. Nease, 5744
___ Mr. Tolson, 5744	___ Miss Gandy, 5633
___ Mr. Boardman, 5736	___ Mr. Holloman, 5633
___ Mr. Belmont, 1742	
___ Mr. Mason, 5256	___ Records Section
___ Mr. Mohr, 5517	___ Pers. Records, 6631
___ Mr. Parsons, 7621	___ Reading Room, 5531
___ Mr. Rosen, 5706	___ Mail Room, 5533
___ Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB	___ Teletype, 5644
___ Mr. Sizoo, 1742	___ Code Room, 4642
	___ Mechanical, B-114
___ Mr. Nichols, 5640	___ Supply Room, B-216
___ Mr. McGuire, 5642	___ Tour Room, 5226
___ Mr. Wick, 5634	
___ Mr. DeLoach, 5636	___ Miss Lurz
___ Mr. Morgan, 5226	___ Miss Mathers
	___ Miss Carter
___ Mr. Jones, 4236	___ Mrs. Faber
___ Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB	___ Miss McCord
___ Mr. Waikart, 7204	___ Miss Loper
___ Mr. Eames, 7206	___ Miss Price
___ Mr. Wherry, 5537	___ Miss Gibson

\_\_\_ See Me

\_\_\_ For Your Info

\_\_\_ For appropriate  
action

\_\_\_ Note &amp; Return

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-7-89 BY 0080501/8

L. B. Nichols  
Room 5640, Ext. 691

July 27, 1956

2 - Orig. & 1  
ellow  
r. Nichols  
ection tickler  
r. Young  
Airtel

RECORDED - 52

100-391697-404

SAC, New York (82-11509)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-7-89 BY [signature]

The Bureau has received information indicating that the Fund for the Republic is apparently sending letters to all teachers, and are enclosing brochures entitled "The Trial of Socrates." The brochure advertises a phonograph record of the trial of Socrates and, by implication, reportedly tries to draw a parallel between Socrates' trial and that of present-day communists in our country.

You are instructed to discreetly attempt to obtain a copy of the above-mentioned brochure and phonograph record and submit them to the Bureau at the earliest possible date.

Hoover

100-391697

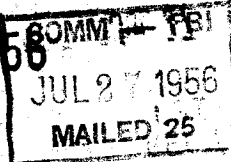
RCY:men(6)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Mr. Nichols by memorandum to Mr. Tolson, 7-24-56, stated that former Assistant to the Director, Ladd, made available a copy of a letter dated 5-8-56, in which Professor William E. Fort, Jr., of Winter Park, Florida, criticizes the Fund for the Republic for sending out a brochure advertising a phonograph record entitled "The Trial of Socrates." Professor Fort stated that the brochure tries to draw a parallel between Socrates' trial and that of the present-day communists. Mr. Nichols suggested that perhaps we should get a copy of the record. The Director noted "Yes. H."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

63 AUG 3 - 1956





AMERICAN LEC

# FIRING LINE



Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

Subscription rate \$3.00 per year

VOL. NO. V, NO. 14

July 15, 1956

## FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Fund For The Republic recently announced, with much fanfare, a report dealing with alleged "blacklisting" in the entertainment industry. Hundreds of pages of this report are filled with material that is supposed to show how people in various fields of entertainment and people and organizations outside the entertainment field have, in effect, conspired to have people fired from their jobs because of communist or communist front affiliations.

This report is a matter of the utmost importance to you, as it is to The American Legion, which has also been criticized in its pages. It came as no surprise to find ourselves singled out for criticism, because we have always opposed the employment of communists and communist sympathizers in the theater, motion pictures, radio or television. Nor should it be surprising to find the Fund For The Republic attacking the entertainment industry for trying to discourage communists and communist sympathizers anxious to work in this strategic field.

You might say that this report is an extension of the thinking of ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, President of the Fund For The Republic. Testifying before a Legislative Subcommittee, a few years ago, when he was head of the University of Chicago, HUTCHINS made the surprising admission that despite a commotion on his campus over communists there, he was "uninstructed" on this vital subject. Only a few weeks ago, on a television program, he made an even more startling admission, that he would knowingly hire a communist who was competent to do a particular job, proving that HUTCHINS means this, EARL BROWDER has been gainfully employed on one of the many projects spawned by the Hutchins-run Fund, and his operation has employed others with records of affiliation with Communist fronts.

It is only reasonable to assume that a man who would knowingly hire a Communist in the year 1956 would find nothing wrong in giving communists jobs in entertainment. He would obviously not understand the peculiar advantage such untrustworthy people would enjoy in such jobs, and how such people would certainly exploit such jobs to the detriment of the American people and their government. He would not understand these things despite all the evidence, for the simple reason that DR. HUTCHINS is not only uninstructed on the subject of communism but his mind seems to be impervious to any understanding of the communist menace. Obviously such a man cannot help feeling that if a Communist or a Communist stooge or sympathizer is fired, the person who caused such a person to be discharged is ipso facto at fault, regardless of the facts.

COPYRIGHT 1956 BY THE AMERICAN LEGION

REPRODUCTION IN WHOLE OR PART WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION IS PROHIBITED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-7-89 BY 88251JLB

INDEXED - 55

NOT RECORDED

20 AUG 1 1956

file 100-100000

This thinking, through some sort of osmosis, has been carried into the report on blacklisting, just as it seems to have penetrated into all the projects of the Fund For The Republic dealing with communism. The line is that the communist is a poor, misguided person who is more sinned against than sinning. The real culprit, beyond redemption, is the person who dares to point a finger at any member of the communist conspiracy.

However, while the foregoing is a matter of record, it is somewhat beside the point in this instance. Actually everyone seems to have missed the point that should have been the first thing established in talking about communists in the entertainment field. Those who prepared the report missed it, and up to now no one seems to have given it a thought. The point is simply this:

It is up to the public to decide.

The Fund For The Republic in its report overlooks this elementary fact completely. It goes on the naïve assumption that stars are made by officials of motion picture studios, broadcasting systems and theatrical producers. It takes hundreds of pages to depict an ingenuous picture of cowardly star makers discarding their creation because wicked and mercenary individuals and organizations frightened them with a sinister kind of blackmail.

This utterly ridiculous and highly melodramatic recital by the HUTCHINS people is being presented with a straight face to the American public, and in view of that, it is likely to be accepted as factual.

It is hardly necessary to explain to anyone with the least understanding of show business how silly this is. Those who know show business realize that the motion picture producer or the radio-TV director can only give the performer an audience. From that time on, it's up to the performer. If he makes good and becomes a star, the public rewards him, and usually the rewards are great. When the performer no longer pleases the public he goes into eclipse, and there isn't much that the people who run show business can do about it.

This is so basic that even HUTCHIN's "experts" ought to know it. And there's something else they ought to know. Just as the public can make a star overnight, it can break him just as quickly. Further, it can do this for reasons that have nothing whatsoever to do with his ability as a performer. Possibly this proprietary attitude can be explained by the fact that the public feels it pays its performers well enough to expect certain standards even in the performer's private life. In any case, the public has a rather frightening way of turning on those who betray their trust or who offend common ideas of morality or decency.

Everyone knows that because of this, the motion picture industry years ago had to clean house of a vicious element and establish a code of decency. When it established its code, which incidentally called for certain personal standards of decency, and hired WILL HAYS to see that it was enforced, press and public joined in acclaiming the move. We don't recall that any early-day funds denounced this as a violation of civil rights or liberties.

Today, we are locked in a death struggle with communism, and for years the agents of this criminal conspiracy have been infiltrating



every agency which reaches and influences the public. One of the major targets of these conspirators has been the entertainment industry, and there is much evidence to show the inroads these people made. Yet, when the industry started moving against these traitors and their stooges, there was opposition on every hand. The cry was 'hands off.' This did not come from the public, of course, but from people in high places who are always myopic in the presence of subversion.

Despite this opposition, the entertainment industry did go ahead and it did make progress in cleaning out nests of communists and commie-minded people who had moved in on them. It was able to do this, not because of people like ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, of course, but because the American public was being alerted to the Red records of many entertainers, and they didn't like what the records proved. The American people made it plain that they wanted no communist sympathizers as their stars. The CHARLIE CHAPLINS and others, more or less silently slipped away.

People who think like HUTCHINS have condemned The American Legion for its part in all this, but what was our part? All we did was read the legal, official records concerning these people. The records were written not by us but by them. For this we certainly have no apologies to make.

As a matter of fact, the only apologies that seem to be in order are from those who made a handsome living from generous Americans, while advancing the cause of our communist enemies. You don't hear many apologies or explanations from people of that ilk, whose treachery is exceeded only by their arrogance. Nor may we expect to hear any apologies from the HUTCHINS camp. Instead, they persist in exposing not communism but their own abysmal ignorance of communism. And that ignorance jeopardizes all America.

But where do we go from here? You may be sure that the so-called report on blacklisting will not remain a museum piece. HUTCHINS will break out some more of his tax-exempt millions to plug this particular masterpiece, and soon you will find powerful voices raised in its behalf. The book will be employed as a lever to force the entertainment industry to hire back all those Reds and Pinks whose records once before made them a liability to the industry, as well as to the nation. It won't matter much whether or not these people have any talent -- the fact that they are not good Americans will give them some sort of right to a job, if not stardom.

This in the HUTCHINS lexicon is "civil liberties". That will be the aim, but let's not overlook the American public, as the HUTCHINS people did. They'll make the final decision, and you may be sure they won't participate in the creation of any Red stars. The point, which continues to escape the people who run the Fund For The Republic is that not many Americans share DR. HUTCHINS' sublime tolerance for communists.

If it be so minded, the entertainment industry need pay no attention to the communist-serving report prepared by the Fund For The Republic. Indeed, since the Fund itself disavows the report, there is no reason whatsoever why anyone should take it seriously. The job of keeping communists and communist-sympathizers out of key communications areas can be continued and, where necessary, accelerated. For, while progress has been made in this work, the job is by no means complete.

The American people certainly will not stand for any let down,

despite the propaganda that may be distilled from the HUTCHINS report. All branches of show business have been placed in an awkward position by this report since, like all Fund For The Republic projects, it purports to prove that an honest effort to expose and eliminate communists is a vicious form of persecution.

However, we wish to assure you that you can count on the co-operation of The American Legion in fighting this kind of propaganda. We believe that the American public should be permitted to retain their traditional freedom of choice when it comes to selecting the kind of people who will entertain them, and that the choice should not be dictated by the Fund For The Republic acting as the devil's disciple for people with malodorous backgrounds.

#### COMMUNIST OWNERSHIP OF GI SCHOOLS

The Radio Television Technical School, 29-31 North Seventh Street, Allentown, Pa., is owned by a partnership consisting of M. MICHAEL FREEDLAND, RAYMOND L. FREUDBERG, ALBERT B. GERBER and S. HARRY GALFAND. FREEDLAND owns 50 percent, while the remaining 50 percent is shared by the other three partners. FREEDLAND is also the administrator of the school. (See Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Communist Ownership of GI Schools, 1956, Part 1, page 56).

As of January 6, 1956, the Radio Television Technical School had received a total of \$215,523.26 in Federal Funds for the training of veterans under all laws involved: \$101,706.13 was paid the school by the Veterans' Administration for training veterans under Public Law 346; \$4,052.31 for training veterans under Public Law 16; while \$109,764.82 was received from veterans for training under Public Law 550. (See Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Communist Ownership of GI Schools, 1956, Part 2, page 129).

As of October 31, 1955 a total of 115 veterans, were enrolled at the school. As of August 2, 1955, approximately 83 percent of the students attending the school were veterans.

MR. HERMAN E. THOMAS, Allentown, Pa., a former member of the Lehigh Valley section of the Communist Party and an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1944 to 1954, testified before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on January 18, 1956 that Communist Party leaders in the area had met and stayed overnight at MICHAEL FREEDLAND's home in Allentown. FREEDLAND was introduced to Communist Party leaders during a period when it was the policy not to expose party leaders to anyone except Communists. FREEDLAND admitted to THOMAS that he had belonged to the Communist Party while residing in Philadelphia.

THOMAS had informed FREEDLAND that he (THOMAS) was a member of the Communist Party. They discussed Communist Party activities and FREEDLAND exhibited a knowledge of Communist Party matters. It was THOMAS' further testimony that after the party went underground the Lehigh Valley section experienced difficulty in getting Communist Party literature to the membership. As a result, FREEDLAND was designated to pick up literature in Philadelphia and return it to his home in Allentown where THOMAS obtained it for distribution to the local party clubs. (See Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Report-Communist Ownership of GI Schools, 1956, pages 108-109).

Why not ask your Post Service Officer to check the GI Schools in your community.

JUL 26 1 48 PM '56

CENTRAL RESEARCH SECT.  
FBI

JUL 25 1956

100-100000-184

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *AB*

DATE: July 31, 1956

FROM : R. R. ROACH *R*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-7-89 BY 203051208

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The Fund for the Republic recently announced the completion of its "Report on Blacklisting," by John Cogley, member of the Fund's staff and former executive editor of the "Commonweal," a lay Catholic weekly magazine. The report alleges that individuals reportedly connected with communist activities are blacklisted in the movie, radio and television industries, as determined by a study instituted by Cogley in September, 1954, under a \$100,000 grant from the Fund. Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning Cogley.

The New York Division has obtained a copy of Cogley's blacklisting report, which is in 2 volumes: Volume 1, "Blacklisting in Movies"; and Volume 2, "Blacklisting in Radio and Television." Briefly, the author attempts to show the origin, development and operation of blacklisting in the movie, radio and television industries. There are several references to the FBI in the report, but none are derogatory. The report is extremely critical of the American Legion, and publications such as "Aware," "Counterattack," and "Red Channels," for publicly listing individuals with communist affiliations without first granting them hearings to separate the "guilty" from the "innocent." The report refers to such affiliations as "political" in nature, and not as threats to American freedom. Included in the category of blacklisting for "political" reasons is the refusal of an employer to hire a Communist Party member. According to the report, individuals linked with subversive activities found themselves "unemployable" until they cleared themselves with a "clearance board" composed of prominent men in the newspaper and entertainment field, such as columnists George Sokolsky, Fred Woltman and Victor Riesel. The report contains considerable undocumented and anonymous material. Individuals interviewed in connection with this study are identified by symbols and there is no indication given as to their reliability.

RGJ:awj/dje  
(6)

100-391697

100-391697-406

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

RECORDED - 73

16 AUG 2 1956

INDEXED - 73

53 AUG 3 1956

Enclosure *2*

EX-107

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

As you know, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) on 7/18/56 completed its hearings on the blacklisting report, which has received considerable nationwide publicity. Cogley refused to identify his sources of information. This is contrary to the Fund's stand against the Government's use of confidential informants in security matters. Various witnesses denied that they form a "clearance board" for blacklisted individuals. At the conclusion of the hearing, Chairman Walter of the HCUA stated that the hearing found the report to be worthless, and there was no evidence developed to indicate blacklisting or clearance in the movie, radio and television industries.

ACTION:

For your information. Cogley's "Report on Blacklisting" is enclosed for inclusion in Bufiles.

JE 2/40  
do  
10/2/56

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓ *min*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *for*

SUBJECT: ○ FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: 7/25/56

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-39 BY *2083*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Fred Woltman, while discussing other matters, informed me that he is now working on some information he has to the effect that Steve Fitzgerald, who formerly was with the Baltimore Sun and who is a friend of W. H. Ferry and who at one time was Assistant Director of the Office of War Information, has been hired as a public relations consultant to rehabilitate Robert Maynard Hutchins. Fitzgerald is being paid approximately \$30,000 a year. Woltman has not got this tied down as yet but as soon as he does get it tied down he is going to use it in a story.

Woltman further stated that as a result of the editorial run in the New York World Telegram denouncing the so-called Blacklisting Survey by the Fund for the Republic, a letter signed by Elmo Roper, President Shuster of Hunter College, Robert Maynard Hutchins and Paul Hoffman has been sent to the New York World Telegram taking strong exception to the editorial and to Woltman's testimony. Woltman wrote a 28-page brief tearing the letter apart and sent it to young Jack Howard who is now out in California. Fred stated he was dumbfounded when Paul Hoffman called him on the telephone last Friday, called him by his first name, and commented that while he had signed the letter and did not want a retraction that if Woltman would point out wherein the Fund for the Republic had done injustice with the blacklisting/survey that he, Hoffman, would issue a public statement. Hoffman then stated that he wanted to get together with Woltman and try to get the matter straightened out.

Woltman stated that he is going to insist that the paper make an issue out of the letter written by the Board of Directors which is full of holes.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Rosen

✓ *for*  
INDEXED-41

LBN:fc (5)

RECORDED-41

100-391697-407

AUG 2 1956

F452  
55 AUG 9 1956

100-391697-407

THE AMERICAN LEGION



# FIRING LINE



Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

Subscription rate \$3.00 per year

VOL. NO. V, NO. 14

## FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The Fund For The Republic recently announced, with much fanfare, a report dealing with alleged "blacklisting" in the entertainment industry. Hundreds of pages of this report are filled with material that is supposed to show how people in various fields of entertainment and people and organizations outside the entertainment field have, in effect, conspired to have people fired from their jobs because of communist or communist front affiliations.

This report is a matter of the utmost importance to you, as it is to The American Legion, which has also been criticized in its pages. It came as no surprise to find ourselves singled out for criticism, because we have always opposed the employment of communists and communist sympathizers in the theater, motion pictures, radio or television. Nor should it be surprising to find the Fund For The Republic attacking the entertainment industry for trying to discourage communists and communist sympathizers anxious to work in this strategic field.

You might say that this report is an extension of the thinking of ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, President of the Fund For The Republic. Testifying before a Legislative Subcommittee, a few years ago, when he was head of the University of Chicago, HUTCHINS made the surprising admission that despite a commotion on his campus over communists there, he was "uninstructed" on this vital subject. Only a few weeks ago, on a television program, he made an even more startling admission, that he would knowingly hire a communist who was competent to do a particular job, proving that HUTCHINS means this, EARL BROWDER has been gainfully employed on one of the many projects spawned by the Hutchins-run Fund, and his operation has employed others with records of affiliation with Communist fronts.

It is only reasonable to assume that a man who would knowingly hire a Communist in the year 1956 would find nothing wrong in giving communists jobs in entertainment. He would obviously not understand the peculiar advantage such untrustworthy people would enjoy in such jobs, and how such people would certainly exploit such jobs to the detriment of the American people and their government. He would not understand these things despite all the evidence, for the simple reason that DR. HUTCHINS is not only uninstructed on the subject of communism but his mind seems to be impervious to any understanding of the communist menace. Obviously such a man cannot help feeling that if a Communist or a Communist stooge or sympathizer is fired, the person who caused such a person to be discharged is ipso facto at fault, regardless of the facts.

COPYRIGHT 1956 BY THE AMERICAN LEGION  
REPRODUCTION IN WHOLE OR PART WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION IS PROHIBITED.

17 AUG 2 1956

100-391697-408

NOT RECORDED

This thinking, through some sort of osmosis, has been carried into the report on blacklisting, just as it seems to have penetrated into all the projects of the Fund For The Republic dealing with communism. The line is that the communist is a poor, misguided person who is more sinned against than sinning. The real culprit, beyond redemption, is the person who dares to point a finger at any member of the communist conspiracy.

However, while the foregoing is a matter of record, it is somewhat beside the point in this instance. Actually everyone seems to have missed the point that should have been the first thing established in talking about communists in the entertainment field. Those who prepared the report missed it, and up to now no one seems to have given it a thought. The point is simply this:

|| It is up to the public to decide.

The Fund For The Republic in its report overlooks this elementary fact completely. It goes on the naive assumption that stars are made by officials of motion picture studios, broadcasting systems and theatrical producers. It takes hundreds of pages to depict an ingenuous picture of cowardly star makers discarding their creation because wicked and mercenary individuals and organizations frightened them with a sinister kind of blackmail.

This utterly ridiculous and highly melodramatic recital by the HUTCHINS people is being presented with a straight face to the American public, and in view of that, it is likely to be accepted as factual.

It is hardly necessary to explain to anyone with the least understanding of show business how silly this is. Those who know show business realize that the motion picture producer or the radio-TV director can only give the performer an audience. From that time on, it's up to the performer. If he makes good and becomes a star, the public rewards him, and usually the rewards are great. When the performer no longer pleases the public he goes into eclipse, and there isn't much that the people who run show business can do about it.

This is so basic that even HUTCHIN's "experts" ought to know it. And there's something else they ought to know. Just as the public can make a star overnight, it can break him just as quickly. Further, it can do this for reasons that have nothing whatsoever to do with his ability as a performer. Possibly this proprietary attitude can be explained by the fact that the public feels it pays its performers well enough to expect certain standards even in the performer's private life. In any case, the public has a rather frightening way of turning on those who betray their trust or who offend common ideas of morality or decency.

Everyone knows that because of this, the motion picture industry years ago had to clean house of a vicious element and establish a code of decency. When it established its code, which incidentally called for certain personal standards of decency, and hired WILL HAYS to see that it was enforced, press and public joined in acclaiming the move. We don't recall that any early-day funds denounced this as a violation of civil rights or liberties.

Today, we are locked in a death struggle with communism, and for years the agents of this criminal conspiracy have been infiltrating

every agency which reaches and influences the public. One of the major targets of these conspirators has been the entertainment industry, and there is much evidence to show the inroads these people made. Yet, when the industry started moving against these traitors and their stooges, there was opposition on every hand. The cry was 'hands off.' This did not come from the public, of course, but from people in high places who are always myopic in the presence of subversion.

Despite this opposition, the entertainment industry did go ahead and it did make progress in cleaning out nests of communists and commie-minded people who had moved in on them. It was able to do this, not because of people like ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, of course, but because the American public was being alerted to the Red records of many entertainers, and they didn't like what the records proved. The American people made it plain that they wanted no communist sympathizers as their stars. The CHARLIE CHAPLINS and others, more or less silently slipped away.

People who think like HUTCHINS have condemned The American Legion for its part in all this, but what was our part? All we did was read the legal, official records concerning these people. The records were written not by us but by them. For this we certainly have no apologies to make.

As a matter of fact, the only apologies that seem to be in order are from those who made a handsome living from generous Americans, while advancing the cause of our communist enemies. You don't hear many apologies or explanations from people of that ilk, whose treachery is exceeded only by their arrogance. Nor may we expect to hear any apologies from the HUTCHINS camp. Instead, they persist in exposing not communism but their own abysmal ignorance of communism. And that ignorance jeopardizes all America.

But where do we go from here? You may be sure that the so-called report on blacklisting will not remain a museum piece. HUTCHINS will break out some more of his tax-exempt millions to plug this particular masterpiece, and soon you will find powerful voices raised in its behalf. The book will be employed as a lever to force the entertainment industry to hire back all those Reds and Pinks whose records once before made them a liability to the industry, as well as to the nation. It won't matter much whether or not these people have any talent -- the fact that they are not good Americans will give them some sort of right to a job, if not stardom.

This in the HUTCHINS lexicon is "civil liberties". That will be the aim, but let's not overlook the American public, as the HUTCHINS people did. They'll make the final decision, and you may be sure they won't participate in the creation of any Red stars. The point, which continues to escape the people who run the Fund For The Republic is that not many Americans share DR. HUTCHINS' sublime tolerance for communists.

If it be so minded, the entertainment industry need pay no attention to the communist-serving report prepared by the Fund For The Republic. Indeed, since the Fund itself disavows the report, there is no reason whatsoever why anyone should take it seriously. The job of keeping communists and communist-sympathizers out of key communications areas can be continued and, where necessary, accelerated. For, while progress has been made in this work, the job is by no means complete.

The American people certainly will not stand for any let down,



despite the propaganda that may be distilled from the HUTCHINS report. All branches of show business have been placed in an awkward position by this report since, like all Fund For The Republic projects, it purports to prove that an honest effort to expose and eliminate communists is a vicious form of persecution.

However, we wish to assure you that you can count on the co-operation of The American Legion in fighting this kind of propaganda. We believe that the American public should be permitted to retain their traditional freedom of choice when it comes to selecting the kind of people who will entertain them, and that the choice should not be dictated by the Fund For The Republic acting as the devil's disciple for people with malodorous backgrounds.

COMMUNIST OWNERSHIP OF GI SCHOOLS

The Radio Television Technical School, 29-31 North Seventh Street, Allentown, Pa., is owned by a partnership consisting of M. MICHAEL FREEDLAND, RAYMOND L. FREUDBERG, ALBERT B. GERBER and S. HARRY GALTAND. FREEDLAND owns 50 percent, while the remaining 50 percent is shared by the other three partners. FREEDLAND is also the administrator of the school. (See Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Communist Ownership of GI Schools, 1956, Part 1, page 56).

LIAISON SECTION  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
JUL 26 4 16 PM '56

As of January 6, 1956, the Radio Television Technical School had received a total of \$215,523.26 in Federal Funds for the training of veterans under all laws involved: \$101,706.13 was paid the school by the Veterans' Administration for training veterans under Public Law 346; \$4,052.31 for training veterans under Public Law 16; while \$109,764.82 was received from veterans for training under Public Law 550. (See Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Communist Ownership of GI Schools, 1956, Part 2, page 129).

As of October 31, 1955 a total of 115 veterans, were enrolled at the school. As of August 2, 1955, approximately 83 percent of the students attending the school were veterans.

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F B I  
JUL 25 2 44 PM '56

MR. HERMAN E. THOMAS, Allentown, Pa., a former member of the Lehigh Valley section of the Communist Party and an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1944 to 1954, testified before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on January 18, 1956 that Communist Party leaders in the area had met and stayed overnight at MICHAEL FREEDLAND's home in Allentown. FREEDLAND was introduced to Communist Party leaders during a period when it was the policy not to expose party leaders to anyone except Communists. FREEDLAND admitted to THOMAS that he had belonged to the Communist Party while residing in Philadelphia.

THOMAS had informed FREEDLAND that he (THOMAS) was a member of the Communist Party. They discussed Communist Party activities and FREEDLAND exhibited a knowledge of Communist Party matters. It was THOMAS' further testimony that after the party went underground the Lehigh Valley section experienced difficulty in getting Communist Party literature to the membership. As a result, FREEDLAND was designated to pick up literature in Philadelphia and return it to his home in Allentown where THOMAS obtained it for distribution to the local party clubs. (See Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Report-Communist Ownership of GI Schools, 1956, Part 1, page 56).

Why not ask your Post Service Officer to check the GI Schools in your community.

CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

JUL 26 1956

JUL 26 1956

NO 570

JUL 26 1956  
FBI - ALLTOWN  
RECD BELMONT

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: - / -

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 10954-10956 Senator Mundt, (R) South Dakota, spoke concerning the report sponsored by the Fund for the Republic against efforts of the motion picture industry and the television-broadcasting industry to eliminate Communists seeking to gain employment in these opinion-molding industries. Mr. Mundt stated the report has come in for some well-merited criticism from those familiar with the true purpose of the Communist conspiracy within our midst. Mr. Mundt also included an article and an editorial concerning the report.

Original filed in:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8885 J/K

INDEXED

100-391697-409  
NOT RECORDED  
191 AUG 1 1956

ENCLOSURE

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for [redacted] was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

NDAY NIGHT BROADCAST  
BROADCASTING COMPANY

E. Sokolsky, Jr.

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Boardman ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mason ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Holloman ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

GOOD EVENING. THIS IS GEORGE SOKOLSKY TRANSCRIBING ON THE FORCES AND EVENTS OF THESE DAYS. BUT FIRST MAY I PRESENT OUR ANNOUNCER FOR A MOMENT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED The Fund for the Republic

DATE 8-7-89 BY 25851 JAP 100-391697  
The big show this week was the hearing into the black-listing reports of the Fund for the Republic which was established by the Ford Foundation by a tax-free gift of \$15,000,000. The hearing occurred before the House Committee on Un-American Activities of which Representative Francis Walter is Chairman.

One of the projects undertaken by the Fund for the Republic was a study into blacklisting in the movie, radio, and television industries. There are two volumes, one on movies and one on radio and television, and I am mentioned frequently in both. In the volume on movies, I am a sort of hero; in the one on radio and television, I am a villain. I do not think that I can quite play both parts in the same show, although the authors of the report attribute to me a dexterity beyond my deserts.

I could not go down to Washington to testify at the hearing and yet, I did not choose to be silent about the mendacity in these reports, so I wrote a statement for the Committee, which read:

"In reply to your inquiry by telephone, I wish first to regret that my health does not yet permit me to come to Washington. Were it possible, I should only be pleased to join you.

"I have read both volumes of the Cogley Report on "Blacklisting" and while the volume dealing with motion pictures appears to me to be of superior workmanship to the volume on radio and television, both suffer from inadequate research, from either an unwillingness or an inability to get at all the facts, from a double-standard of morals.

"As regards the double-standard of morals, I note that some persons are identified by name while others are anonymous or are disguised by initials, or are turned into composite personalities so that their identities do not disclose themselves although certain phases of their personalities are identifiable. This is not objective reporting and represents, in my opinion, that characteristic of Congressional investigations which Mr. Cogley and others have described as McCarthyism, namely an accusation without adequate proof or any at all.

RECORDED - 28 100-391697-410

"Before I proceed to answer your direct question, I wish to make the point that my interest was entirely in the field of movies and never in the field of radio and television. The reason is quite simple: In the motion picture field there was the possibility of aiding in the rehabilitation of men and women of talent so that they might be enabled to contribute to American life. It was also possible to smash the Communist treasury which drew more heavily on Hollywood than anyone will ever be able to establish.

27 AUG 1 1956

"Also, the motion picture industry is well-organized, with comparatively few companies, headed by men of direct responsibility. Radio and television is a vast arena of networks, local stations, advertising agencies, producing companies, with participants who come and go and about whom one learns only long after the event. I therefore felt that while it was possible to do a constructive job in motion pictures, it was practically impossible to do anything constructive in radio and television.

"Although Cogley mentions me often and apparently I have won some favor in his eyes, his researchers have failed to discover how I came into it at all. There

were two routes: At Jim McGuinness' funeral, or at his wake, some of us were discussing the enormous sacrifices this noble American made and how it really cost him his life. On that occasion, John Ford introduced me to Ward Bond and I learned of the work that these men were doing in Hollywood in their fight against the Communists. Their story appealed to me as one of the most constructive works in the anti-Communist movement, but I was immediately certain that the solution was not in blacklists or boycotts but in rehabilitation.

"This conviction was strengthened by a visit to my home of Nate Spingold, a Vice-President of Columbia Pictures who had formerly been a newspaperman and who ranks high in culture and intelligence. Spingold was discussing a boycott of some of the pictures produced by his company. He challenged me to answer this question:

"Suppose a man is accused of being a Communist, or of having been one, how does he ever clear himself of the charge? Where is the forum? If he goes to the FBI, they take down what he says and then it is filed and nobody is permitted to see the files. The House Committee on Un-American Activities can only hear a few cases and they are selected and the Committee calls the few who are selected in its own time. Meanwhile, such a person cannot work. What do you say to that?"

"No rule-of-thumb answer would do. After many telephone calls and exchanges of views, the reply to Spingold's challenge was three-fold:

"1. No person could clear another. It is only possible for an individual to clear himself, because only he knows what his motives were and what all his actions were; (only he knows his own record.)

"2. The only value of an outside group could be, from experience, to help to evaluate statements made by individuals and perhaps act as a clearing house for data. The clearing house idea was tried and failed because it was impossible to set up such an organization.

"Instead each person who wanted to clear himself communicated in the form of a letter to his employer, the head of the company that employed him. In the event that the person was unemployed, he communicated with the company that formerly employed him or with a prospective employer.

"3. No person engaged in this activity was to accept payment for any services or even compensation for expenses. This rule was adhered to strictly.

"I do not and cannot know the correct number of those rehabilitated by this process. My rough estimate runs about 300 men and women who are today working in the motion picture industry who could not work before because of the record they had established of Communist or pseudo-Communist associations. Rather than being a black-listing effort, this was an effort in rehabilitation.

"It was unpopular on two sides: many sincere anti-Communists believed that it was an effort in the wrong direction because it made it possible for those who had been pro-Communists to work, but it failed to do anything for ex-Communists who testified before Congressional Committees and the FBI. This criticism was well-founded but those of us who worked in this program had no answer for it.

"The second criticism came from the Communist group who prepared dishonest statements and wanted one of us to say that we believed every word they wrote. It was a very trying situation because while we rejected the concept of "clearing" as morally dishonest, we nevertheless had no desire to be tricked and fooled. On the whole, I would say this program was socially beneficial.

"As regards your questions concerning the data running from page 89 in the radio and television report, this seems to me a melange of misinformation. I do not know who is responsible for it but it would seem that someone was boasting, was trying to give the appearance of being a big shot.

"For instance, reference is made to a public relations counsel who obtained affidavits from me. I never signed an affidavit. Even if the word, affidavit, is put in quotation marks, it is (still) untrue.

"Reference is made to Victor Riesel, Frederick Woltman and I acting together. This never happened, except that Victor Riesel (and Arnold Forster of the Anti-Defamation League) came to my house one day with John Garfield. Just before he died, Garfield was preparing a statement in Arnold Forster's office, which he told me would show the relation of Charlie Chaplin to Communist recruitment in this country. I never saw this statement. I was told that it was taken by Benjamin and Krim after Garfield died. I do not know whether this is true or not, as I did not pursue the subject.

"Forster also asked me to see Judy Holliday and a man called Block who advertised a tooth paste on radio or television. I saw Judy Holliday but our conversation led to nothing. I also saw Block but only recall that he told me he had given someone "expenses" for clearing and I would have nothing to do with him.

"The letter which Cogley's report says I gave an actor was to Luther Adler. I cannot understand why his name is omitted from the account as this seemed to me a clear case of injustice and I said so. I had known Luther Adler's father and mother, among the greatest actors of their time, and I respected them. I am sure that that played some emotional part in my attitude toward this man who while he was a liberal certainly was no Communist.

"In any case, there was no clearing ring, as Cogley's book seems to infer. As for Frederick Woltman, an able journalist, I am quite sure that we had no occasion to discuss these particular problems at all.

"It rather amuses me that with all the money that the Fund for the Republic has expended on this research, they did not get at the true nature of the effort for rehabilitation and they permitted this so-called "public relations expert," whoever he may have been, to tell them a weird story which was wholly untrue. His motive could only have been to advertise his importance. No one ever asked me to see 10 or 12 persons interested in radio and television. I never saw others in this field than I have here indicated by name."

I had always made the point that a man makes his own record in life. Nobody can make his record for him. Nobody can change it for him. There were lawyers and public relations men who tried to change the record for a fee. They usually failed. John Garfield told me that he paid \$35,000 to a lawyer and \$5,000 to a public relations counsel. Money does not buy everything.

Whenever you hear someone ask: Who are these people who constituted themselves an organization to do this or that, you must recognize by the question that it is being asked by a Left-Winger who believes in an all-powerful government like that of Soviet Russia. The American people always organized committees, societies and associations for all sorts of purposes, like the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, Foreign Policy Association, Committee to Preserve Elm Trees, Masons, Knights of Columbus, B'nai B'rith -- anything. This is a right of a free people.

# # #

THANK YOU. THIS IS GEORGE SOKOLSKY. GOOD NIGHT.

54412

Mr. Nichols

8-3-56

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
RADIO STATION WWDC  
8-3-56

Lewis, in his broadcast of this date, reviewed his previous reporting of experiments conducted with microphone installations to hear deliberations in jury rooms and reported that the President signed legislation on August 2, 1956, calling for a \$1,000 fine against persons who record or listen to deliberations in jury rooms.

Lewis also reported that commencing with his broadcast on Monday, August 6, 1956, which will be at the same time, he will be heard over the new Mutual outlet in Washington, D.C., Radio Station WGMS, 570 on the dial.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

CC - Mr. Boardman

CC - Mr. Nichols

CC - Mr. Belmont

✓ CC - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

HEH:ivs

(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-7-89 BY 208512108

100-391697-411  
NOT RECORDED

141 AUG 7 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

55 AUG 10 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-7-89 BY 888/51708

100-391697-

file  
WV  
✓

Explaining that he could not go to Washington to testify at the hearing into the black-listing reports of the Fund for the Republic, Sokolsky read during his broadcast the statement he wrote and sent to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

He said he felt both volume of the Cogley Report suffered from inadequate research, from either an unwillingness or an inability to get at all the facts, from a double-standard of morals. He made the point that his interest was entirely in the field of movies and never in the field of radio and TV. His reason: In the motion picture field there was the possibility of aiding in the rehabilitation of men and women of talent so that they might be enabled to contribute to American life. It was also possible to smash the Communist treasury which drew more heavily on Hollywood than anyone will ever be able to establish.

He told of how John Ford introduced him to Ward Bond and how he learned of the work these men were doing in Hollywood in their fight against the Communists -- and that he was immediately certain that the solution was not in blacklists or boycotts but in rehabilitation. This conviction was strengthened by a discussion with Nate Spingold, Columbia Pictures vice president, concerned a boycott of some of the pictures produced by Columbia. Spingold, Sokolsky related, challenged him with the question: Suppose a man is accused of being a Communist, or of having been one, how does he ever clear himself of the charge. Where is the forum?

Sokolsky's reply was three-fold: (1) No person could clear another. (2) The clearing house idea was tried and failed because it was impossible to set up such an organization. Instead each person who wanted to clear himself communicated in the form of a letter to his employer. In the event he was unemployed he communicated with the company that formerly

100-391697-

NOT RECORDED

AUG 10 1956

28924

employed him or with a prospective employer. (3) No person engaged in this activity was to accept payment for any services or even compensation for expenses.

Sokolsky said he did not know the correct number of those rehabilitated by this process but that his rough estimate runs about 300 men and women who are today working in the motion picture industry who could not work before because of the record they had established of Communist or pseudo-Communist associations. Rather than being a blacklisting effort, he said, this was an effort in rehabilitation.

##



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. R. R. ROACH

DATE: July 20, 1956

FROM : MR. J. W. BROWN

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

279639  
279637  
202157108 8-7-59  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-8-83 BY SP2  
mp/sk

Tolson ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Boardman ☐  
Belmont ☐  
Mason ☐  
Mohr ☐  
Parsons ☐  
Rosen ☐  
Tamm ☐  
Nease ☐  
Winterrowd ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holloman ☐  
Gandy ☐

Reference is made to Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson 6-18-56 stating that Lee Pennington gave him a draft of an outline which J. Addington Wagner, of the American Legion, contemplates using before the forthcoming hearings of HCUA on the FFR. Mr. Nichols suggested that this outline be reviewed for any flagrant errors. Reference is also made to your memorandum to Mr. Belmont, 6-28-56, stating that the outline is being reviewed by our Special Memoranda Unit on a project basis along with our regular work. (100-391697-393, 394)

The review of the above-mentioned outline has been completed and individual summary memoranda have been prepared wherever applicable. In the interest of brevity and to avoid repetition, the allegations and pertinent information contained in the outline on various individuals and organizations were not repeated in the individual summaries where they have been verified through Bureau's files. With the exception of pages 10-18, the section dealing with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), all the information in the outline has been verified. Any exceptions, corrections or additions thereto are noted in the individual summaries. The section in the outline dealing with the ACLU was not verified as the ACLU has no official connection with the FFR (other than allowing its annual report to be distributed by the Fund); the ACLU has not been investigated by the Bureau; and to verify the allegations in the outline regarding 24 individuals connected with this organization would require a considerable number of extensive file reviews. This was discussed with Inspector DeLoach who was of the opinion that no additional file reviews should be undertaken regarding the members of the ACLU.

Wagner's proposed outline has been photostated for Bureau files and the original outline is enclosed herewith together with the individual summaries reflecting the results of our file reviews.

Enclosures (47)

RECORDED - 93

PCY:men(5)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. J. W. Brown
- 1 - Mr. Young

53 AUG 22 1956

ENCLOSURES

RETURN TO  
INDEXING DESK

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

100-391691-411

Memorandum for Mr. Roach

ACTION:

That this memorandum and the attached summaries be referred to Mr. Nichols for his information.

Of course, we must  
not be put in the  
position of  
approving  
Wagner's proposed  
statement

7/22

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: August 3, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2082 (215) 008

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Pursuant to [redacted] instructions, DeLoach conferred with Wayne Murphy and Lee Pennington, Assistant Directors of the American Legion National Americanism Commission, on August 1, 1956. The proposed testimony of the National Commander before the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the captioned organization was discussed. National Commander Wagner is of the opinion, and this was concurred in by both Murphy and Pennington, that he will not be called upon to testify before the end of his administration, September 6, 1956. There is a possibility that the new National Commander, Dan Daniel, will be called upon to testify; however, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has not yet indicated a date.

Mr. Wagner is of the opinion that his administration should reflect a true picture of the Legion's fight against the Fund for the Republic. The testimony in question will be greatly enlarged and will be prepared in the form of a monograph with appropriate documentation. It will be issued to all rank and file members at the National Convention and will serve in the future as a "bible" for Legionnaires regarding the Fund for the Republic. We were later advised that this action was concurred in by James F. Daniel of the Legion's Convention American Committee and Jimmy O'Neil who is the head of the various Legion publications.

A sufficient number of copies will be sent to us for reference purposes.

Commander Wagner, Messrs. Murphy and Pennington were made completely familiar with the fact that the FBI was in no manner indorsing or "clearing" the mentioned testimony or contemplated monograph.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

RECORDED - 93

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont

CDD:rm  
(4)

100-391697-412

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: August 3, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: CARROLL COLBY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 28851/108

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Carroll Colby, you will recall, is the author of the picture book, "The FBI," with whom we have had very favorable relationships. He resides at Briarcliff Manor, New York, and has advised that the principal of their local high school, Edward Moyer, has announced that next year's senior class at the high school will attend a fifteen week's "Essential Ideas Seminar" for gifted seniors. According to Colby, this program will consist of viewing and studying fifteen films produced by a Dr. Mortimer Adler who produced them for National Education Television Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan. The films bear such titles as "Existence of God," "Truth," "Good, Evil and Beauty," etc.

Colby advised that this project was started through the efforts of Wilbur Ferry, a member of their local school board, who is a member of the staff of the Fund for the Republic through which their school has been given a grant of \$13,000. Colby indicated that some of the local parents are concerned as to what, if anything, might be behind the interest of the Fund for the Republic to have such a course started in their local school. Colby feels as a member of the village Board of Trustees that he should find out all he can about such a project in case any of the local residents come to the trustees to see what they know about this project. Colby stated that Ferry became a member of their school board a few months ago, and Ferry seems quite concerned over this project which he proposed to Moyer last February. Colby indicated that any information we could furnish him would be helpful.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached is a blind memorandum containing public source material concerning Mortimer J. Adler, an author, educator and philosopher born December 28, 1902, who is believed to be identical with the subject of Colby's inquiry. Also attached is a copy of "The Fulton Lewis, Jr., Report on the Fund for the Republic" which contains considerable information concerning Wilbur Ferry. If you approve, I will make the attached material available to Colby.

Enclosures (2)

cc - Mr. Nichols

MP:pac

AUG 15 1956

ADDENDUM, MAJ:mcq, 8-7-56.  
Material sent to Colby by personal  
note 8-7-56.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-391697-1

July the 24th. '56

Mr. Milton Jones,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, 25, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-29-89 BY 2083 BT JAP

Greetings, Milt:

This is a mild SOS for information which perhaps you can not, or would prefer not to, supply. On the other hand it might be of interest to your bureau. It regards a new "experiment in teaching" planned for our local high school this fall.

The District Principal Edward Moyer, a very "progressive" type of educator has just announced with a great deal of fanfare that this next years senior class will attend a 15 weeks "Essential Ideas Seminar", as he calls it, for gifted seniors. So far that seems generally harmless, and I am certainly not against any good sound educational program for any youngster, but here are a few more facts which concern many local parents.

This program will consist of viewing and studying 15 films produced by a Dr. Mortimer Adler, who produced them for National Education Television Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan. These films bear such titles as "Existence of God", "Truth", "Good Evil and Beauty", etc.

This project was started through the efforts of Mr. Wilber Ferry, a member of our local School Board who is a member of the top staff of the Fund For the Republic. Through this Mr. Ferry, our school has been given a grant of \$13,000. from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education to pay for this "Seminar". The various angles have concerned some of the local parents as to what (if anything) might be behind the interest of the Fund For the Republic to have such a 15 weeks course started in our local school. Although I am not a member of the School Board, I feel as a member of the Village Board of Trustees, that I should find out all that I can about such a project, in case any of our residents come to our board to see what WE know about the status (from a loyalty angle, anti-American angle, or pro-radical angle) of these films, Dr. Adler, or the National Educational Television Center out at Ann Arbor. Mr. Ferry, who has just got onto the School Board, a few months ago, seems quite concerned over this project being undertaken and proposed it to Mr. Moyer last February.

Any information regarding this subject ~~should be~~ <sup>is</sup> disseminated and considered confidential.

100-391697-  
RECORDED  
117 AUG 9 1956

My best to Willie Gunn, and hope to get down that mansion.  
Cordially with best personal regards,

Bill Colby

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

63 AUG 13 1956

Handwritten notes:  
8-3 56  
DMB

Mr. Nichols

August 6, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
AUGUST 6, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-7-89 BY 2020/200/af

On this date, Lewis devoted approximately one half of his program to the Fund for the Republic. He mentioned that the Fund had issued a report today denouncing Representative John Stennis, Democrat (Mississippi), for a statement he made in a speech near the end of the 84th Congress. One point Stennis was attacked on related to his statement that the jury tapping incident by University of Chicago law professors had been financed by the Fund for the Republic. Lewis pointed out that on this point the Fund was correct in that the jury tapping venture had been financed by the Ford Foundation.

With regard to a second statement in Stennis' speech on which the Fund had assailed him, Lewis took issue. Stennis reportedly stated that the Fund had referred to the Communist Party (CP) as "just another political party." According to Lewis, the Fund today said they had never made this statement. Lewis went on to quote from the Fund's annual report dated May, 1955, and a foreward by President Robert M. Hutchins, the second paragraph on page 11, "A political party in this country has been associated with the enemy..." Lewis discussed this point and gave the opinion that this definitely referred to the CP.

Mr. Lewis then mentioned a letter dated 3-14-56 from Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, wife of the President of Oberlin College, Ohio, W. H. Ping Ferry, Vice President of the Fund for the Republic. This letter, according to Lewis, pertained to the Mary Knowles case wherein the Library the Plymouth Quaker Meeting near Philadelphia was awarded \$5,000 by the Fund because they hired Miss Knowles after she was fired from a Massachusetts library job for taking the Fifth Amendment. Lewis quoted excerpts of the letter which indicated that the Fund would like to have the money returned if it would not give satisfaction to such people as Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the American Legion. Lewis concluded his remarks re the Fund by stating that Paul Hoffman wanted this information concerning the \$5,000 award to appear on the front page of everything issued by the Fund. Lewis then offered the opinion that, "Paul Hoffman apparently thought this award a wonderful thing."

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
141 AUG 10 1956

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Rosen  
cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697  
JRH:meh

August 6, 1956

MEMORANDUM

Re: Mortimer Jerome Adler

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 00815ulaf

"Who's Who in America" for 1956-57, page 28, indicated Adler was born December 28, 1902, and was educated at Columbia, receiving his Ph. D. degree in 1928. He was an instructor in psychology at Columbia, 1923-29; Assistant Director People's Inst., New York City, 1927-29; Associate Professor (1930-42) and Professor (1942-52) of philosophy of law, University of Chicago. He is an author whose works include "What Man Has Made of Man," 1938, "Problems for Thomists," 1940, and others.

The March 17, 1952, issue of "Time" magazine carries Adler's picture on the cover. The feature article in this magazine concerning Adler is in connection with the then recent publication of the "Great Books of the Western World," edited by Adler and Robert Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago. This article contains considerable information concerning Adler, his background, and his views on education.

The "Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer" for October 29, 1945, contains an article entitled "Holds World Government is Atomic Threat Answer" which quotes Adler as stating, "We must do everything we can to abolish the United States. Adler is described in this article as a widely known author, philosopher and psychologist. Adler's remarks were made during a speech at Notre Dame College, South Euclid, Ohio. In his speech, Adler urged the complete abolishment of the United States and all other national sovereignties and advocated a world government as an answer to the threat to civilization by the atomic bomb. (100-341090-3)

Concerning this speech by Adler, the following appears in the 1954 Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations of the House of Representatives, Eighty-third Congress, Second Session, House Report Number 2681, page 227:

"It is noted that Ernie Adamson, Counsel, Committee on Un-American Activities, addressed a letter to Prof. Mortimer J. Adler on December 14, 1945, requesting a copy of a speech delivered by Professor Adler in Cleveland, Ohio, October 29, 1945."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

"Under date of December 19, 1945, Professor Adler replied.

(To be sent to Mr. Carroll Colby)

George M. Peet: pac

(6)

100-391697-  
See Nichols memo dated 8-13-56 captioned "Carroll Colby." GMP:pac  
AUG 8 1956  
AUG 15 1956  
AUG 19 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

**'I do not have a copy of the speech I delivered in Cleveland and elsewhere because I spoke extemporaneously from manuscript notes. The content of the lecture, however, was taken from my published book, "How to Think About War and Peace," and the lecture said neither more nor less than that book said.**

**'Briefly, the thesis of my lecture, as of my book, is that world peace depends on world federal government; that world federal government requires the total relinquishment and abolishment of the external sovereignty of the United States as well as that of all other presently existing sovereign nations; that this may seem a high price to pay for peace, but that it is nevertheless the absolutely minimum condition, without which we shall have another world war in less than fifteen years. Since I think that the atomic warfare which impends will be absolutely destructive of the civilization of the United States, whether we win or lose that war, I feel that I am justified in strongly recommending action by the American people to prevent that war-- even if it means the loss of our national sovereignty.'** (100-385355-37,

enclosure, page 227)

**A pamphlet entitled "'Yes, But'" which contains questions and answers about a Federal World Government published by the World Federalists, U.S.A., Inc., 31 East 74th Street, New York City, in 1946, indicates that a Mortimer J. Adler was a member of the Advisory Board of the National Organization of World Federalists, U.S.A. The name Mortimer J. Adler is included in the list of the Council of Advisers on the 1946 letterhead of Student Federalists, Inc., 31 East 74th Street New York City. (100-343001-52 and 100-343001-29X2)**

**The May, 1948, issue of the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" which is published monthly by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago contains an article entitled "A Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution." On pages 145-150, the article indicates that since November, 1945, the Committee to frame a World Constitution, with headquarters at the University of Chicago has been at work on the preparation of a preliminary draft for Federal union. The preliminary draft is dedicated to Gandhi and members of the Committee and signers of the draft include Robert M. Hutchins, Mortimer J. Adler, and others. (100-350064-23)**

**Part 1, page 42, of the Hearings before the Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations held May-July, 1954, contains the following concerning Adler with reference to a grant made by Ford Foundation:**



"Another dubious grant of a different character was made to Mortimer Adler, who received \$600,000 from the Ford and Mellon Foundations to set up the Institute of Philosophical Research. Professor Adler is such an ardent advocate of world government that, according to the Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 29, 1945, he said: 'We must do everything we can to abolish the United States.'

"It would be interesting to find out just what kind of philosophical conclusions Professor Adler will arrive at with reference to the virtues of patriotism and government based on unalienable rights of men." (100-385355-42)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE:

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page 1236-  
1236-1  
Congressman Lehner, (1) Ohio, extended his remarks to include a letter he directed to the editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer concerning the investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the report on blacklisting by the Fund for the Republic. The reference to the FBI, contained in the letter, was set forth in a memorandum written earlier this date.

Page 1235  
1  
Senator Kennedy, (2) Massachusetts, extended his remarks to include an editorial entitled "The Fund and the Films." The editorial deals with a report issued by the Fund for the Republic on blacklisting. The reference to the FBI was set forth in a memorandum written earlier this date.

Original filed in:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-89 BY 2885206

ENCLOSURE

100-391697-

NOT RECORDED  
191 AUG 22 1956

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7 6 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

50 AUG 22 1956 7331

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 20, 1956

FROM : R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 28851

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The New York Division has obtained a copy of the Fund's "Three-Year Report" which purportedly reflects the activities of the Fund to 6-22-56. An examination of this report reflects that the Fund has made 84 grants to individuals and/or organizations not previously mentioned by it.

To check our files on these 84 grants would involve a considerable number of extensive file reviews. Accordingly a sample of 16 names was taken to determine if the recipients of these grants have any derogatory background and whether there is any indication that the criticism of the Fund during the past year has affected its awarding of grants. Of the 16 grants selected, 7 have been awarded during 1956. Our files show some derogatory information on 4 of them (one of which received a grant in 1956), which are identified as follows:

H. Mark Roelofs, Cornell University, was awarded \$6,500 for completion of his book "An Essay on Citizenship." Roelofs in December, 1955, was placed on Bureau list of individuals not to be contacted in view of his past criticism of the Bureau. (62-92201-289)

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, was awarded \$25,000 to underwrite in part the expenses of a 6-day conference on the essentials of freedom. The Bureau investigated this college in 1943 on the allegation a Fascist party existed there. Our investigation failed to substantiate this allegation or reveal any un-American activities there. (100-74872)

John W. Caughey, University of California, at Los Angeles (UCLA) was awarded a grant (amount not specified) to complete a study of intellectual freedom in American colleges and universities since World War II. Bufiles show that in March, 1950, Caughey was one of UCLA's faculty members signing petitions against loyalty oaths. He made several speeches against such loyalty oaths and that year was ousted from his job. He, however, returned to UCLA in 1953. (116-421854)

Enclosure

RCY:men/vec (4)  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Young  
1 - Section tickler

EX - 102  
RECORDED - 25100-391697-413  
18 AUG 22 1956

100-391697

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, (page 62) was awarded \$28,600 in March, 1956, for a 2-year experimental program in civil liberties. This college has not been investigated by the Bureau; however, several members of its faculty have been subjects of security-type investigations. Our files show it has long been a controversial institution of learning because of its liberal educational policies and the wide latitude in teaching afforded its faculty. Students under faculty guidance and as part of their curriculum have participated in numerous front group activities and have frequently taken up the cause of racial minority groups. Various faculty members were called before the Jenner Committee in March, 1953. (100-356042)

Attached is a summary memorandum identifying the remaining 12 recipients of grants concerning whom Bufiles contain no derogatory information.

In view of the above, a review of Bufiles re remaining 68 recipients of grants named in the Fund's "Three-Year Report" is not being made at this time. However, the report will be completely indexed for future reference. In addition these names will be identified in the forthcoming edition of the running memorandum on the Fund which will be due September 30, 1956.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

*W.B.* *gm* *L.B.*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 20, 1956

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

According to the "Three-Year Report" released by the Fund for the Republic, June 22, 1956, the following individuals and organizations have received awards under the Fund's fellowship and grant-in-aid-program. Bufiles fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning them. (100-391697-396)

X Audio Book Company (page 44) *W 1/2*  
\$2,616 awarded March, 1956, to underwrite  
cost of albums on various topics (not  
specified)

*No 100*  
X Association for Education and Journalism (page 79)  
\$45,000 awarded March, 1956, for a study of  
press treatment of civil liberties to be made  
after 1956's national election.

X Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church  
in the United States (page 28)  
\$15,000 awarded January, 1956, for educational  
work in racial and cultural relations. *W 1/2*

X Board of Social and Economic Relations, Methodist  
Church (page 28)  
\$25,000 awarded January, 1956, to support  
interracial conferences. *W 1/2*

Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian  
Church in the United States (page 28) *W 1/2*  
\$15,000 awarded January, 1956, for educational  
work and racial and cultural relations.

Rev. Joseph Fichter, S. J. Loyola University,  
New Orleans (page 29)  
\$15,000 awarded for study of integration  
in New Orleans parochial schools.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY *2857/108*

*100 - 391697 - 413*

ENCLOSURE

Samuel H. ~~X~~Hofstadter, Justice, New York Supreme Court (page 56)

The Fund distributed 10,000 copies of pamphlet "The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954," written by Hofstadter. *Confidential*

Charles F. ~~X~~Kellogg, Dickinson College (page 53) *Pg*  
Awarded grant (amount not specified) to assist in the completion of a study of the NAACP.

Robert A. ~~X~~Leflar, University of Arkansas (page 53) *Page 100*  
Was awarded grant (amount not specified) to complete treatise on legal liability in the exercise of free speech. *A.S.*

Clark F. ~~X~~Norton, Depauw University, (page 54) *Greenwood*  
Received award (amount not specified) for a study of loyalty-security measures employed by municipal governments in the North Central States. *Ind.*

~~X~~Religious Drawings, Inc., (Jack ~~X~~Hamm, President), Waco, Texas (page 27) *in Texas*

\$2,000 awarded March, 1956, to finance free distribution of cartoons dealing with religion and segregation.

~~X~~School of Librarianship of the University of California (page 50)

\$36,00 awarded March, 1956, for a study of book selection in California public and school libraries.

Office Memorandum

n • UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 17, 1956

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Bureau library has received through the mails, three pamphlets from the FFR. The pamphlets, entitled: "Bulletin. June, 1956," "Facts. 3. Grants to Religious Organizations," and "Facts. 2. The Communist Record in the United States," deal with projects and grants of the FFR which have previously come to the Bureau's attention.

It is believed that no further action in this matter is necessary other than the indexing of the titles of the three pamphlets for future reference.

ACTION:

For your information.

Enclosure

RCY:aeu

(4)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-7-81 BY 60815/108

INDEXED - 94  
 RECORDED - 94  
 EX-123

25 AUG 21 1956

F 467  
 61 AUG 28 1956

Mr. Nichols

August 13, 1956

M. A. Jones

**FORD FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-7-89 BY 28857/af

On August 12, 1956, City Side, a television program over WTOP-TV featured Adam Yarmolinsky. Yarmolinsky is a secretary of the Ford Fund for the Republic in Washington, D. C.

The program was a question and answer type, and the panel was composed of local Washington newspapermen. Yarmolinsky was asked the following questions:

(1) Why the Quakers in Pennsylvania refused a \$5,000 "reward" for hiring Mary Knowles, who stood behind the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee? Yarmolinsky stated that to his knowledge the \$5,000 "reward" had not been refused and also not been accepted. He stated that he heard it was in escrow and could be accepted by the Quakers any time. He stated that an organization named "Women Alerted for America" influenced the Quakers not to accept it.

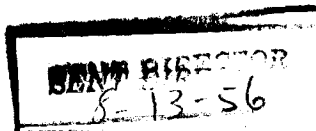
(2) Why has the Fund been charged as being procommunist? Yarmolinsky stated that any organization concerned with the Bill of Rights or that tried to protect a minority or unpopular people would always be criticized, thus the Fund had been criticized.

(3) Yarmolinsky was asked if the Fund had paid money to their informers in gathering information for its studies. He said that the answer was "yes" and that Earl Browder had been paid a sum of money for his information concerning communist infiltration in the United States.

(4) Yarmolinsky was questioned concerning the \$100,000 fund grant to the Bar Association of New York in its study of the security program. He stated that the Fund had no connection with the study of the Bar Association which was composed of 79 prominent attorneys. Yarmolinsky stated, however, that his case studies of the different security cases (about 350) had been given to this group to aid them in their study.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Young, 7631  
cc - 100-391697

100-391697  
(13)



100-391697-✓  
NOT RECORDED  
102 AUG 23 1956

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-391697-30



August 13, 1956

(5) Yarmolinsky was then asked if the Nation needed a new loyalty program to investigate and control the nonsensitive jobs. He stated that he felt no new legislation was needed but that administrative procedures within the program as it now stands should take care of both sensitive and nonsensitive jobs.

(6) Yarmolinsky was then questioned relative to the statement made by Congressman Walter of HCUA when he said that the Supreme Court decision regarding the security program put the United States in a position so that it could not "demand loyalty of its employees." Yarmolinsky stated he did not agree with this statement.

(7) He was then questioned regarding a former Government employee who had a sensitive job; was fired because of questionable loyalty and then was rehired in a nonsensitive position. Yarmolinsky stated that this man had been contacted by Soviet Agents while he was in his nonsensitive job. This contact was, according to Yarmolinsky, to obtain information the employee had gathered as a result of his sensitive employment.

(8) The panel then asked him whether or not the Fund was concerned with civil rights. He stated that it was and that one of the Fund's major concerns was race relations. He said that the danger now lay in the fact that there were no "moderates" on either side of the racial question, and this leaves extremists on both sides. In this regard, he stated that McCarthyism was still a menace.

(9) In answer to a question about the recent Supreme Court decision concerning segregation, Yarmolinsky stated he felt the Supreme Court had no other alternative then to render the decision. He was then questioned regarding the people in the South who say that segregation must be maintained. Yarmolinsky's answer was that he saw a glimmer of hope in the attitude of the younger people in the South. Those in favor of desegregation should work in areas where there is a large Negro population.

(10) He was asked whether or not the Fund studied race relations in the North. He answered "yes" and that a large amount of money had been appropriated to study race relations in the North.

(11) He was then asked whether or not he had encountered anti-Semitism in his study of the security program. He stated that he had found none but that it was his understanding that the Antidefamation League had found anti-Semitism in its study of the Fort Monmouth situation.

M. A. Jones memo to Mr. Nichols

August 13, 1956

(12) He was then asked whether or not the U. S. should protect confidential informants in hearings. Yarmolinsky stated that he felt that they should be protected, but he was concerned as to how far the Government should go in using the information furnished by informants.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

# Letters to The Times

## 'Screening' Entertainers

### Committee Chairman Statement on Employment Ban Challenged

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In his letter to The Times of Aug. 10 Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities says that the committee's hearings on my "Report on Blacklisting" established that only "hard-core members of the Communist conspiracy" have been deprived of employment in the entertainment industry. The hearings proved no such thing.

Richard Arens, committee counsel, was highly selective in the cases he asked me about. The committee itself was extremely selective in its choice of witnesses. No one from the networks or the advertising agencies was called.

The only two performers called had already proved to be "Fifth Amendment" witnesses and Mr. Walter had every reason to believe they would rely on the privilege if called again. The witnesses who were heard, other than these two performers, were representing the individuals and groups deeply involved in either "listing" or "clearing."

#### Testimony on Employment

These witnesses, denying stoutly that they "cleared" anyone, admitted that they had re-created a "climate of employment" for those unjustly accused (by whom?) or duped into support of questionable activities. Re-creating a climate of employment, they insisted, was not "clearance" but "rehabilitation." The semantic fog was thick indeed, but even so I think the hearings established the basic accuracy of the report.

Many outrageous and untrue things have been said and written about the report since it was first published, usually by persons who had not read it. At the time I was questioned by the committee Mr. Walter admitted he had not read it, nor had the majority of the committee. Mr. Walter's latest letter leads me to believe that he has still not got around to it.

During the months of our investigation my associates and I interviewed hundreds of persons in the entertainment industry. Even those who resented the fact that the study was being made were candid enough to admit that blacklisting (or "screening" as some preferred to call it) was a problem for the industry and that many non-Communist had been deeply hurt.

Dozens of writers and actors who were subsequently cleared (or "rehabilitated") by the persons and groups which originally accused them told of months and even years of anguish-ridden unemployment. The situation has long been scandalous.

#### Request for Anonymity

In most cases those interviewed demanded anonymity. They said frankly that they were afraid to go on record about their experiences for fear that their trouble would start up again.

I kept my word about not naming sources. I was prepared to go to jail if need be to keep the promises made.

I hope I may be forgiven now, with a hostile investigation and a reputation-smashing smear behind me, if I wonder out loud about the theatrical union leaders, the actors and writers, the industry leaders, and even sponsors who complained so bitterly about "blacklisting" and "pressure groups." Their present public and corporate silence is even more ominous than it was when blacklisting became an unwelcome institution on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood.

True, Mr. Walter did not call anyone from the radio-TV industry whose testimony might have been embarrassing. He did not call any of the "security officers" from the networks or advertising agencies. He did not call any actors or writers who were cleared (that is to say "rehabilitated"), nor did he call any performers or writers who had knowledge of their friends losing employment.

But, I should think, now that he has stated baldly that only Communist conspirators have ever been deprived of work, the most tongue-tied would find their voice. Until they do I hope those who spoke so bitterly in private will have the decency to complain no more. They have chosen silence.

JOHN COGLEY

Baldwin, N. Y., Aug. 10, 1956.

INDEXED - 1

100-391697-415

RECORDED - 1

11 AUG 28 1956

EX-126

SENT DIRECTOR

8-15-56

INDEXED - 1 ✓  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Malley \_\_\_\_\_  
Talley \_\_\_\_\_  
Jett \_\_\_\_\_  
Zane \_\_\_\_\_  
Hough \_\_\_\_\_  
Bigh \_\_\_\_\_  
Abo \_\_\_\_\_  
Masterson \_\_\_\_\_  
Proctor \_\_\_\_\_  
Tity \_\_\_\_\_  
Mifflin \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
N.Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_

BAUMGARDNER

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
N.Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_

Date AUG 15 1956

100-391697

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8808 STJ/LL

0 Fund For The Republic

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

DATE: 8/2/56

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (62-11509)

46674

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

*W.C. Sullivan*

Rebuairtel, 7/27/56, which advised that captioned organization was sending brochures entitled "The Trial of Socrates" to all teachers and requested the NYO to discreetly obtain a copy of the above brochure and the phonograph record it advertises.

On 7/30/56 it was ascertained by pretext telephone call to MURRAY Hill 2-1250 (Fund for the Republic, Inc., 60 E. 42 St., NYC) that the phonograph recording entitled "The Trial of Socrates" was not yet available for general distribution. Utilizing a suitable discreet pretext, the office of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., 55th floor of the building at 60 E. 42 St., was visited and a complimentary copy of instant recording was secured. During the visit it was ascertained that copies of the advertising brochure were not available and one was not secured. In the event that a copy of the advertising brochure for "The Trial of Socrates" is made available to the NYO, one will be secured and furnished to the Bureau.

Enclosed is a packet secured from the Fund for the Republic which contains:

A. One album containing three records, which album is entitled "The Trial of Socrates: 2 Dialogues of Plato: Apology, Crito": Read by THOMAS MITCHELL; Foreward by ROBERT M. HUTCHINS.

B. One 16 R.P.M. adapter for use on all 33 1/3 record players.

C. One advertising brochure advertising recordings prepared by the Audio Book Co. of St. Joseph, Michigan.

(2-Bureau (100-391697)(Encs.3)(RM)  
I-NY 62-11509

PHS:LSW  
(3)

RECORDED-3

INDEXED-3

100-391697-416

20 AUG 7 1956

ENCLOSURE

55 AUG 30 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 8008 2513/EXP. P. PROC

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: August 22, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY 2008/5/10/88

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

b7D

b7D

b7D

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

[redacted] called DeLoach this morning to advise that the Treasury Department in Washington had returned the report on the Fund for the Republic to the New York Office of Internal Revenue with instructions that recommendations of the District Commissioner of Internal Revenue in New York be included as a part of the report. The instructions also reflected that the District Commissioner should study the report thoroughly prior to submitting his recommendations. This, of course, concerns action by the Treasury Department as to whether or not the Fund for the Republic should be removed from the tax-exempt status it presently enjoys.

[redacted] was optimistic in that he described the District Commissioner of Internal Revenue in New York as a very forthright individual and one whom he believed to be sincerely honest. He added a pessimistic note, however, in the fact that the Treasury Department has made things extremely rough for the New York Commissioner.

[redacted] mentioned that his sources have advised him that the Treasury Department has called Internal Revenue agents into Washington concerning a recently submitted report of Internal Revenue which deals with the tax-exempt status of United Electrical Workers and that organization's activities. [redacted] asked if we knew whether or not the Subversive Activities Control Board was currently considering the citing of United Electrical Workers. DeLoach told him he had no personal knowledge of this.

[redacted] advised that the Fund for the Republic paid John Cogley the sum of \$120,000 for the "Black-listing in Entertainment Industries Report." He added that this was certainly a great loss of money inasmuch as the report had "backfired" on the Fund for the Republic with considerable loss of prestige.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Jones

CDD:mn (54)

SENT DIRECTOR

8-23-56

17 AUG 29 1956

100-391697-417

DIRECTOR, FBI

8/17/56

SAC, LOS ANGELES

COMFIC  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-7-89 BY 28510/af

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, dated 7/9/56, concerning a report being prepared by the Fund for the Republic on alleged blacklisting in the motion picture, radio, and television industries.

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau and New York is an advance release of an article scheduled to appear in the September issue of the national magazine "American Legion" which will probably be released on or about August 20, 1956. The article itself is self-explanatory and deals with the recently released afore-mentioned report of the Fund for the Republic.

The above release was made available to the Los Angeles Office on a confidential basis by [redacted]

[redacted] is also a member of the [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
  - (2 - 100-138754) (Encls.-2)
  - (1 - 100-340922 COMINFIL - RADIO & TV INDUSTRIES)
- 2 - New York (REGISTERED)
  - (1 - 100-50870 COMFIC) (Encls.-2)
  - (1 - 100-80744 COMINFIL - RADIO & TV INDUSTRIES)
- 3 - Los Angeles
  - (1 - 100-15732)
  - (1 - 100-19333 COMINFIL - RADIO & TV INDUSTRIES)
  - (1 - 100-53804 FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)

LEW:GAE  
(8)

100-391697-✓  
NOT RECORDED  
AUG 21 1956

ENCLOSURE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6  
b7C  
b7D

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ABW*

DATE: August 27, 1956

FROM : R. R. ROACH *R*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-89 BY *008151*

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Re my previous memoranda advising [redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

[redacted] We told them we would handle their request as a project along with our regular work load. The Director approved our furnishing [redacted]

[redacted]

Under date of 6-27-56 we furnished [redacted]

[redacted]

Referral/Consult

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary re FFR be transmitted to the [redacted] via liaison.

Referral/Consult

*ans/bos*

*1/20*

*Delivered to 100yd. FFRS 8/30/56*

*880*

RCY:vec  
(5)

Enclosure *ent*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Daunt
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

RECORDED - 80

EX-110

100-391697-418

AUG 31 1956

2  
1  
1  
1  
1 - Mr. Daunt  
1 - Section Tickler  
1 - Mr. Young

46615

GIP 8  
19. 1950

August 29, 1950

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)**

In addition, there is enclosed a copy of the Fund's "Three-Year Report," which purportedly reflects its activities to June 22, 1956.

## HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FBI

Classified by ~~QAD~~  
Declassify on: ~~QAD~~

**Tax-Exempt Status**

According to the September 20, 1955, "New York Herald Tribune," Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, stated during a September 19, 1955, address before a meeting of the American College of Hospital Administrators at Atlantic City, New Jersey, that any attempt by the Government to supervise tax-exempt foundations "clearly violates" American tradition and could lead to thought control in the teaching and religious fields. (9-20-55 "New York Herald Tribune"; 100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., news commentator, on his broadcast February 28, 1958, stated that on February 27, 1958, he came into possession of a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Ford Foundation, which was held February 23-26, 1958, and was concerned with the grant to the Fund for the Republic. Lewis stated that these minutes reflect that if the Fund loses its tax-exempt status, then the Fund must return to the Ford Foundation the balance of any money granted by the Foundation. (94-4-2189-284)

The July 28, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper reported that Senator John C. Stennis stated on the floor of the Senate on July 27, 1956, that the FFR had declared that the Communist Party is just another political party, though the Subversive Activities Control Board had called it a subversive organization. He called on the Treasury Department to restudy the tax-exempt status of the Fund. (100-391697-A)

PCJ:men/dje/aeu (7)  
all  
Enclosure

Orig. & dupl to Internal Revenue Service via liaison

1956. Attachment to memo Roach to Bel  
Fund for the Republic," PCY:vec

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEADERSHIP IN THE FFR

46676

Officers

Robert M. Hutchins, President

Hutchins at a news conference on November 7, 1955, stated that "The Communist Party is a danger to the United States," but he would still give a communist a job. He added, "I wouldn't hesitate to hire a Communist for a job he was well qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see that he did it." He said that he knew of no such employee presently on the Fund's payroll.

During this news conference Hutchins defended the Fund's hiring of Ames Landman as a part-time publicity man July, 1955, even though Landman had pleaded the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee about Communist Party (CP) membership. According to Hutchins, Landman left the Fund on November 1, 1955. When asked by reporters if it were not an affront to the American people to hire Landman, Hutchins replied: "Not at all. The Fifth Amendment is a part of the Bill of Rights." Hutchins added further that Landman had left the CP in 1939. (100-391697-284; 11-9-55 "Wash. News"; 11-8-55 "Wash. Post & Times Herald") On November 20, 1955, Hutchins appeared on the TV program, "Meet the Press." At the outset, he was reminded of the recent criticisms of the Fund by the American Legion, to which Hutchins stated he believed that communism was a serious menace to civil liberties in the United States. He added that the Fund was dedicated to justice and freedom and claimed that the Fund wanted to make the Bill of Rights a living document and denied charges that it was either soft on communism or trying to undermine security programs.

There followed a rather extensive discussion of whether Hutchins would hire a known communist. Hutchins did not commit himself on this subject. He was evasive and refused to give a straight answer. He claimed that each case must rest on its individual merits; that is, whether the applicant had abilities desired by the Fund, the degree of culpability and association as connected with membership in the CP. (100-391697-305; 100-391697-A; 11-21-55 issue of "Wash. Star," "Wash. Post & Times Herald," and "Wash. News" The "American Legion Magazine," October, 1955, issue contains an editorial entitled "What's Wrong with America," which quotes portions of a speech made by Hutchins before a gathering of newspaper editors in Washington, D. C., a few weeks earlier. Pertinent portions of this speech are set forth as follows:

"You have filled the air with warnings of the sinister figures on the Left, but have printed almost nothing about the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

fat cats on the right. You have allowed things to get to such a pass that some governmental departments now have guidance clinics in which the employee is taught how not to look like a security risk. Look at the Passport Division, interfering with the travel of Americans on their lawful occasions; at the Attorney General's list, ruining the lives of thousands on the basis of hearsay; at the Post Office Department, saving us from Pravda and Aristophanes; at the State Department, adding the name of Corsi to those of Davies and Service and countless others. See the blacklist spreading in industry, merging with proposals that American Communists should be starved to death. Listen to the wire tapping, to the cry of the Fifth Amendment Communist, to the kept witnesses roaming the land..."

The editorial states that in view of the foregoing remarks by Hutchins, it is frightening to realize that a man like Hutchins is handed \$15,000,000 to spend pretty much as he sees fit. It states further that one can get some idea of how much brain-washing Hutchins can accomplish with that money spent in advertising by spreading it among like-minded "experts" in the academic-propaganda field. (100-392679-196)

Information was received on January 18, 1954, from an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past that a meeting was held on January 10, 1954, by the Citizens Committee to Preserve America's Freedom (CCPAF) at the Cosmopolitan Hotel, Los Angeles, California. The informant stated a group of individuals who had refused to testify before "various committees that were investigating un-American groups" was introduced on the stage and that this group included Robert Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

Another informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on April 5, 1955, that the CCPAF was organized in Los Angeles in January, 1952, for the announced purpose of supporting a number of individuals from the medical and legal professions who had been subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Since its establishment, the CCPAF, in extending its scope, has worked for the abolition of all congressional, state and local committees investigating subversive activities and in the latter part of 1954 became very active in opposition to state and federal legislation directed at the communist movement. According to the informant, Frank Wilkinson, Executive Secretary of the CCPAF, was the "brains and energy" behind the organization. On September 17, 1952, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Frank Wilkinson was a communist party member at that time.

[REDACTED] 100-57453-1154)

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Wilbur A. Ferry, Vice President

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past has reported that at a meeting on October 25, 1955, the Council for Personal Freedom, New York City, approved a memorandum presented by Sam Coleman, New York Communist Party (CP) functionary, who also directed the meeting. The memorandum advocates a necessity for broadening the fight against the spread of "McCarthyism" in the United States as expressed by the curtailing of the liberties of all Americans. The memorandum also charged that the rights of Americans were being increasingly restricted by the action of five different governmental committees and that those groups particularly affected were the mass organizations, the trade unions, and the CP members. The memorandum also charged the FBI with the tapping of thousands of telephones and states that thousands of individuals are regularly losing jobs by the "visitation of the FBI to manufacturing plants all over the country" and through acceptance of testimony from "faceless accusers" in loyalty cases. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[According to the informant, Coleman was to refer the memorandum to an individual by the name of Ferry, an executive of the Fund for the Republic, with the hope that the Fund would start a project along the same lines and on the points noted. ~~(S)~~ (U) Ferry may be identical with Wilbur A. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund. It is noted that the "Council for Personal Freedom" was previously named the Council for Protection of Personal Liberties and was founded in New York City on October 5, 1955, as an independent CP organization.   61-10149-4993) (U)

The Boston Division of this Bureau advised on January 31, 1956, that the New Hampshire Attorney General's office is in possession of a Photostat of a letter written by Ferry to President John Dickey, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, dated December 14, 1953, in which he criticized the New Hampshire state investigation into subversive activities being conducted by Attorney General Louis Wyman and his possible questioning of professors of Dartmouth, and offering his assistance in any way possible to combat this investigation. Ferry stated he was putting himself forth as an indignant alumnus, not as a public relations counsel, and referred to "Wyman's investigation" as a fishing trip of a ranker stripe than most, stating it should be resisted, derided, and put in its proper contemptible light. (100-420181-10)

Adam Yarmolinsky, Secretary

According to the October 20, 1955, "Washington Star," Yarmolinsky, in a speech before the Women's National Democratic

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Club at Washington, D. C., on October 20, 1955, said that the Federal loyalty-security system covers too wide a range of jobs and allows "extraordinarily far-fetched charges" against Government workers. He suggested that a code be drawn up stipulating what kind of charges could be used in proceedings against an employee. Yarmolinsky was critical of the present security system but said some such program is needed in these days when there is a danger of communist subversion. It is noted that Yarmolinsky is the editor of the "Case Studies in Personnel History," under a project financed by the Fund. (10-20-55 "Washington Star"; 100-391697-A)

Board of Directors

Harry S. Ashmore, Former Member of the Board

According to the October 28, 1955, "Washington Star," Ashmore announced on October 27, 1955, that he had turned down re-election to the Board of Directors of the Fund. He stated that he felt it "improper to sit on the Board while working full time on a political job." Ashmore in this statement made reference to his position as personal assistant to Adlai Stevenson, Democratic Presidential nominee. (10-28-55 issue of "Washington Star"; 100-391697-A)

Arthur H. Dean, Former Member of the Board

According to the October 27, 1955, "Washington Post and Times Herald," Arthur H. Dean on October 26, 1955, announced that he had on September 27, 1955, resigned as a director of the Fund for "policy reasons." He admitted quitting because of the organization's policies but declined to go into detail. (10-27-55 "Washington Post and Times Herald"; 100-391697-A)

Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board

The May 16, 1956, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, contains an article entitled "Paul Hoffman urges fight on black-listing." The article states that Hoffman in a speech before students of the City College of New York on May 15, 1956, appealed to the students to speak out for freedom, to counteract black-listing, intimidation and fear. Hoffman said that the right to debate and the right to stand innocent until proven guilty has been debased by "a new form of Ku Klux Klanism by which a group of Americans having no judicial status can set themselves up to pass judgement on the loyalty of their fellow citizens." (100-391697-A)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The July 14, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" reported that President Eisenhower on July 13, 1956, nominated Hoffman as one of the five American representatives to the General Assembly of the United Nations to be held in November, 1956.

According to the July 19, 1956, "Washington City News Service," Senators McCarthy and Jenner bitterly attacked Hoffman and urged the Senate to reject him as the United States delegate to the U. N. General Assembly. McCarthy charged that "Hoffman has stood for a policy of softness toward the Soviet Union, Red China and the rest of the communist empire." Jenner said he did not charge Hoffman with being procommunist or "a willing collaborator." But he said the Fund for the Republic which he heads puts out "propaganda...which is slanted in support of objectives which the communist leaders have stated to be their objective." He said that Hoffman is not competent for the job.

The July 21, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" reported that the Senate on July 20, 1956, unanimously confirmed the nomination of Hoffman. Senator Styles Bridges attacked Hoffman as having associated with "questionable characters" and having made statements susceptible to "double interpretations."

Roger D. Lapham, Member of the Board

According to the February 8, 1956, issue of "The Evening Star," the Fund on February 7, 1956, announced that Roger D. Lapham, former mayor of San Francisco, was named as a director of the Fund. ("The Evening Star," 2-8-56; 100-391697-A)

Lapham was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau in 1948 which did not reveal any derogatory information. Our files reflect that in 1951 we were furnished original documents of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). The documents reflected that in January, 1938, Lapham was a member of the American Council of the IPR; and that he was a speaker before the Pacific Northwest Division of the IPR in 1950 at Seattle, Washington. The American Council, IPR has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

J. Howard Marshall, Member of the Board

According to the February 8, 1956, issue of "The Evening Star," the Fund announced on February 7, 1956, that

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

J. Howard Marshall, Texas oil executive, was named as director of the Fund. ("The Evening Star," 2-8-56; 100-391697-A)

Our files indicate that on December 9, 1937, one Ivan Francis Cox filed a complaint in the Superior Court of the State of California, San Francisco, against the 15th District of the Communist Party (CP) and numerous individuals and organizations. The complaint alleged that Marshall was among the sponsors and directors of the San Francisco School of Social Studies who conspired to keep from the public press the true facts surrounding the aims and activities of the school, namely, that it was a training school for adult organizers of the CP. The complaint was dismissed in August, 1938. Relative to this matter a confidential source has advised that Marshall and almost all of the other sponsors and directors of the school were persons of outstanding professional and social reputations in San Francisco and that the school had used their names as "window dressing." The source added that Marshall and the other individuals listed were above reproach as to loyalty and had no real active interest in the school. (121-26179)

Oscar Hammerstein, II, Member of the Board

The Fund announced on February 7, 1956, that Oscar Hammerstein, II, playwright-producer, was named as a director of the Fund. ("The Evening Star," 2-8-56; 100-391697-A)

In October, 1951, a security investigation was conducted by this Bureau concerning Hammerstein based on his reported connections with numerous Communist Party front organizations. The investigation reflected that during the 1940's he had been a sponsor of or had participated in activities of eight organizations cited by the Attorney General, one organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), and nine organizations cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities. In addition to these activities, Hammerstein had employed numerous Communist Party members or sympathizers in his shows. He has always fought discrimination and censorship. (100-391697-335)

Elmo Reper, Member of the Board

An individual who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is well acquainted with Reper advised on January 11, 1958, that Reper has no concept of his responsibility as a member of the board of directors of a foundation such as the FFR. Reper feels that all of their problems are public relations problems and that their projects are satisfactory.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He now agrees, however, that the FFR has been very inept in the selection of some of its materials. (100-391697-338)

STAFF MEMBERS AND EMPLOYEES

Michael Harrington, Research Assistant

The November 22, 1955, issue of "The Daily Cardinal," the University of Wisconsin student newspaper, at Madison, Wisconsin, stated that Michael Harrington, national chairman of the Young Socialist League, was a research assistant for the Fund for the Republic. (100-391697-334)

Our files indicate that Harrington has participated in socialist activities since at least 1953. Reliable information has connected him with the activities of the Socialist Youth League (cited by the Attorney General); the Independent Socialist League (cited by the Attorney General); the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Socialist League. During 1954-1955 he worked for the Workers Defense League, New York City (cited by the HCUA).

George Philip Rawick, Employee

On February 14 and April 24, 1956, a Special Agent of this Bureau determined in contacts with the Fund for the Republic New York Headquarters that Rawick was employed by that organization at its office located at 255 West 108th Street, New York City. (

Our files indicate that Rawick from 1954-1956 was a member of the Young Socialist League (YSL); believed to be a member of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), designated by the Attorney General; attended YSL meetings; attended the YSL National Convention, September 3-5, 1955; was an instructor for the YSL in socialism; has written articles for socialist publications; and was described by a former college professor as one who in the event of an emergency would be on the side of a revolutionary faction. (100-483065)

The YSL was founded in February, 1954, as a result of a merger of the Socialist Youth League (SYL) and the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) which was expelled from the Socialist Party in August, 1953, because the Socialist Party objected to the YPSL holding meetings with the SYL. (100-411915)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTS

### Case Studies in Personnel Security

Adam Yarnolinsky, secretary, who in January, 1955, completed the "Case Studies in Personnel Security," under a \$65,000 grant from the Fund, advised at a press conference on September 19, 1955, that "our study of the trials of the security cases indicated that the accused employees who had the most skilled attorneys were able to beat the charges and get their positions back, while employees with less-skilled defenders were usually fired." He added that the whole question of the Government Loyalty and Security Program, which is being conducted behind closed doors, is in need of orderly review. (September 20, 1955, "Los Angeles Times") (100-391697-A)

### The Draftee and Internal Security

In November, 1954, Rowland Watts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, was among those who received a grant-in-aid from the Fund for a study of "undesirable" discharges given drafted servicemen by the Army based on pre-induction activities and associations. Watts completed his study in August, 1955.

According to "Washington City News Service," November 18, 1955, Watts testified before a hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in Washington, D. C., on November 18, 1955, at which time he assailed the Army for denying honorable discharges to some draftees because it objects to their past associations. Watts charged that the practice "imposes punishment without conviction for a crime." He called this "unconstitutional and unconscionable." (100-391697-A)

### Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States

By way of background, the Fund in June, 1953, appropriated \$64,500 for a study of public records concerning communism, under the direction of Professor Arthur E. Southerland of the Harvard Law School. Two books were published by the Fund in January, 1955: the "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and the "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." These books were distributed by the Fund to libraries, educational institutions,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

and Government agencies. Clinton Rossiter, Cornell University professor, was included in the committee which prepared these studies.

Subsequent to its distribution the "Bibliography" received considerable criticism in the press from scholars and writers claiming that important anticommunist works had been omitted. Among them are the following:

Philip Taft, professor of economics at Brown University stated, "You deserve a note of thanks from the Communist Party. For noncommunists, it is an outrageous performance."

James T. Farrell, novelist and chairman of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, charged the writers with "inexcusable sloppiness."

John A. Sessions, assistant director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, charged that instead of directing future research workers to "the most significant available materials," the Fund's bibliography could only have the opposite effect of directing them away from some of the "most telling indictments of communist methods."

David Freeman, then secretary of the Fund, announced on October 28, 1955, that the Fund has decided to revise its "Bibliography" to correct some of their mistakes and will include works of some of the outstanding anticommunist writers. This review will be carried out by Clinton Rossiter. (October 29, 1955, issues of "New York Times," "Boston Post," "New York Journal-American," "Washington Post and Times Herald," "Washington News," and "New York World Telegram and Sun.")

(100-391697-A)

On April 12, 1956, the Fund announced that it would revise its controversial "Bibliography." Robert M. Hutchins, president, who made the announcement, stated that \$25,000 had been allotted for the preparation and distribution of the revision. Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, in charge of the revision, said that he wanted it made clear that the revision was not being made because of previous criticisms that the "Bibliography" had omitted important anti-communist writings, but because of criticisms made that were "intellectual in character" not further explained. (April 14, 1956, "Washington Post and Times Herald") (100-391697-A)

The "Washington City News Service" on April 13, 1956, reported that Joel Seidman, a University of Chicago professor, will be in charge of the revision of the "Bibliography" under

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the supervision of Bossiter. Seidman has not been investigated by this Bureau. He has been, however, in the League for Industrial Democracy (not cited), American Student Union (cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities), Keep America Out of War Congress (not cited) and the Socialist Party. (100-391697-372)

#### Federal Loyalty-Security Program

In November, 1954, the FFR made a grant of \$100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the appointment of a special committee to make an appraisal of the Loyalty-Security Program of the Federal Government.

According to the July 9, 1956, issue of "The Evening Star" newspaper, Washington, D. C., the New York Bar Association had completed the above-mentioned study and recommended that the Government's personnel security system should be maintained "to help counter the continuing communist threat," but sweeping changes are needed to "correct the weaknesses" in it. The committee found these weaknesses in the Security Program:

1. Lack of coordination and supervision of the several programs.
2. Coverage of many jobs that have 'no circumstantial relationship to national security.'
3. Failure of security standards and criteria to permit a common sense judgment on the whole record.
4. Failure of procedures to give enough protection to the Government and to the employees."

(100-391697-A)

#### Blacklisting in Private Industry

In September, 1954, the FFR authorized \$100,000 for a study of alleged blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries under the direction of John Cogley, a staff member. It is noted our files fail to contain any derogatory information concerning Cogley.

According to the June 25, 1956, issue of "The Evening Star" and the "New York Herald Tribune," the FFR announced that the above-mentioned study had been completed by Cogley in a two volume report: Volume 1, entitled "Movies," and Volume 2, entitled "Radio-Television." The report attempts to show the origin, development and operation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry. It is critical of the American Legion and publications such as "Aware," "Counter-attack," and "Red Channels," for publicly listing individuals with communist affiliations without first granting them hearings to separate the "guilty" from the "innocent." The report refers to such affiliations as "political" in nature.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Included in the category of blacklisting for political reasons is the refusal of an employer to hire a communist. According to the report, individuals linked with subversive activities found themselves "unemployable" until they cleared themselves with a "clearance board" composed of prominent men in the newspaper and entertainment fields, such as columnists George Sokolsky, Frederick Woltman and Victor Riesel. The report contains considerable undocumented and anonymous material. Individuals interviewed in connection with this study are identified by symbols, and there is no indication given as to their reliability.

The "Washington City News Service" reported on June 28, 1956, that Chairman Francis E. Walter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) announced that his committee has subpoenaed Cogley to appear July 10, and discuss his report on blacklisting. The Congressman said that he wants Cogley to give him the names of the entertainers blacklisted and the names of the people who were doing the blacklisting. Cogley's report did not list names. Walter said that the report "levels very grave charges against organizations and persons in the entertainment industry whose efforts have been directed toward eliminating the menace of the communist conspiracy in the United States."

According to the "Washington News," and other Washington, D. C., newspapers, the HCUA held its hearings on the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting" at Washington, D. C., July 10-13, 1956, and at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on July 17 and 18, 1956. According to newspaper accounts, various witnesses denied that they formed a "clearance board" for blacklisted individuals as claimed in the report. John Cogley, author of the report, declined to reveal the identity of his sources of information. Chairman Walter of the HCUA stated that the Committee found the report to be worthless and that there was no evidence developed to indicate blacklisting or clearances in the entertainment industry.

(100-391697-A)

The Fund's "Report on Blacklisting" has received considerable criticism from various individuals and organizations which is set forth as follows:

Senator Karl E. Mundt stated on June 25, 1956, that this report "gives aid and comfort to communists in this country and abroad." Mundt in a Senate speech stated that it was "tremendously disquieting" that the Fund's tax-exempt money

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"is being used to discredit activities engaged in by Americans trying to free themselves of the dangers of the communist menace." Mundt said he has written to Internal Revenue Commissioner Harrington for his reaction to the Fund's tax-exempt status "in view of its constantly notorious reputation for propaganda." (Washington City News Service, June 25, 1956) (100-391697-A)

An editorial appearing in the June 27, 1956, "New York Journal-American" criticized the Fund's report on black-listing as further conclusive evidence of the Fund's anti-anticommunist thinking and activities. According to the editorial the report is not impartial and factual as claimed by the Fund. It is a "subtle and sometimes not so subtle attack on the efforts of the radio, television and motion picture industries to keep communists and communist camp followers out of their fields of communication." (100-391697-A)

J. Addington Wagner, commander of the American Legion, criticizes the report as an "utterly ridiculous and highly melodramatic recital." He also stated that Dr. Hutchins, president of the Fund, "is not only uninstructed on the subject of communism, but his mind seems to be impervious to any understanding of the communist menace." (July 2, 1956, issue of "The New York Times") (100-391697-A)

An editorial appearing in the July 13, 1956, issue of the "Washington News" stated that the report was exposed for what it was--a fraud conceived in pool-hall morality and executed with grossly questionable scholarship. The editor stated that the testimony during the HCUA hearing exposed the report as a "shabby caggle of distortion, essential untruths and calculated omissions." (100-391397-A)

#### Distribution of Books, Articles and Other Material

On his September 21, 1955, broadcast, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that the Fund distributed a document purporting to be a "Report on Security Problems" released by the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. This report, which was distributed to Federal Judges throughout the United States in August, 1955, was an attack on the security system of the Federal Government. According to Lewis, the main part of the document is a copy of a portion of the Congressional Record of June 27, 1955. However, the report included a statement made by Senator Hubert Humphrey which was critical

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

of the Government's security system. This statement was erroneously labeled to indicate that it was the official report of the Subcommittee and not Senator Humphrey's statement. When Senator Humphrey learned of this action he called the Fund and pointed this out. The Fund, according to Lewis, thereafter sent out cards to the recipients of the report retracting the portion labeling the document as the report of the Subcommittee and advising that it was merely an independent statement made by Senator Humphrey. (94-4-2189-200)

#### CURRENT STUDIES AND PROJECTS

##### The Study of Communist Influence in American Life

In November, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$300,000 for an account of communist influence in major segments of United States society. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University was named director of this project. (100-391697-146)

On October 19, 1955, the Fund announced that Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, had been hired by them as a "source of information and raw material" in the preparation of a "scholarly" history of communism in the United States. Browder's work on the project was described as being on a "regular fee and paid commentator basis." Rossiter claimed in a statement that Browder does not control a single word or comment in any book which may be put out by the project. (10/19/55 issues of "Washington News" and "New York World-Telegram and Sun") (100-391697-A)

The hiring of Browder by the Fund was criticized in an editorial appearing in the October 24, 1955, issue of the "Seattle Post Intelligencer," which stated in part: "It gives offense to any decent and honest sense of propriety for a man with Mr. Browder's record as a communist and in his present position of still unresolved accusation to have any part in the preparation of the reference books and texts from which American children may shape their political and economic philosophies in even the smallest part. Does it not justify equal offense that an organization capable of assigning such a role to such a man should undertake the tasks and responsibilities of publication in that field? American history should indeed include the story of communist activity in this country, but the truth of the matter should

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

be told by those who believe in America and the perverted version of the Communists themselves should not be substituted for the truth." (100-391697-A)

#### The Study of Fear in Education

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$150,000 for a study of the attitudes and fear among college and high school teachers.

The "National Review," issue of April 18, 1956, carried an article entitled "From the Academy," written by Russell Kirk. In the article Kirk states that "The Fund for the Republic is spending a great deal of money in an endeavor to discover fear among teachers. Men seldom fail to discover what they seek, if they have sufficient money to spend in the pursuit; and a representative of that Fund recently remarked in my presence that the Fund knew that teachers were thoroughly terrorized, and was now proceeding to document its assumption."... "Few men know better than does Mr. Robert Hutchins, head of the Fund for the Republic, just how timorous professors and teachers are; for he has bullied and browbeaten the species for some decades with conspicuous success. Certainly some people of the University of Chicago quake at the name of Robert M. Hutchins." (100-391697)

#### Survey on Racial Integration

According to the April 15, 1956, issue of "The New York Times," a survey to compile a factual inventory of racial integration in the North is currently under way. This survey is being made by a staff of researchers headed by David Loth, formerly with "The New York Times" and the "New York World." According to Loth, the aim of the project is the preparation of a list of all instances of desegregation in Northern areas during the last two years where Negroes and whites were separated. The list, he explained, will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure of organized groups, voluntary action or mere accidents of population. He added, "we're trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation."

Loth has not been investigated by this Bureau. Our files indicate that according to the October 5, 1944, issue of

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holoman \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the "Washington Times-Herald," newspaper, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) had placed on record information that Loth had registered in the New York City 1936 election as a communist; that he had also contributed an article to the "New Masses" described by the Committee as the official organ of the Communist Party. During his testimony before the HCUA on October 4, 1944, Loth admitted that the name and New York address appearing on the Communist Party registration in 1936 were both his but he insisted that he did not register as a communist. He also stated that the fact he was a contributor to the "New Masses" was not significant. (61-7582-1302; 100-391697-374)

#### FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS IN AID

##### Association for Education and Journalism

The Fund has approved a grant of \$45,000 to the captioned association for a study during 1956-57 of the newspapers' presentation of news related to civil liberties. The study will be headed by Professor Kenneth R. Marvin, president of the association and head of the Department of Technical Journalism, Iowa State College. ("Editor and Publisher," June 23, 1956) (100-391697-A)

The files of this Bureau fail to reflect any derogatory information concerning the Association for Education and Journalism and Professor Kenneth R. Marvin.

##### American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

In May, 1955, the Fund granted the AFSC \$150,000 in order to assist conscientious nonconformists and to help establish their rights. (100-391697-146)

In September, 1955, it was reported that 25 Pacifists had been arrested on charges of violating the New York State Defense Emergency Act in refusing to take shelter during an air raid drill on June 15, 1955. The Pacifists called the state law an infringement of civil liberties. It was noted that counsel had been assigned to aid in their defense by the AFSC, the funds coming out of a previous grant from the Fund. ("New York Daily News," September 27, 1955) (100-391697-A)

##### Commission on Race and Housing

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized \$100,000 to the captioned group to make a nationwide survey of the housing of minority groups. (100-391697-146)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The October 26, 1955, issue of "Labor's Daily" reported that the Fund has appropriated an additional \$135,000 to finance the work being done by the Commission.

A press release of the Fund dated October 27, 1955, stated that Henry Dreyfuss, industrial designer of New York and South Pasadena, California, has been appointed to the Commission, replacing Harold C. McLeellan, who resigned in August, 1955.

Dreyfuss was the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by this Bureau in 1942 and 1951, which revealed nothing derogatory concerning him. Our files contain no additional pertinent information on Dreyfuss. (77-16067; 116-213890)

The Freedom Agenda Program

The Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., under a \$111,610 grant received from the Fund in 1954, organized the Freedom Agenda Program for the purpose of involving all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans. Since its inception this program has been under severe attack by various writers and commentators. (100-391697-146)

The Americanism Committee of the American Legion Post, Kenosha, Wisconsin, prepared a statement dated October 20, 1955, which stated that after a study of the Freedom Agenda Program sponsored by the Fund they were concerned about the "extent of influence of pro-Communists associated with the project." The report added that the Committee charges, and is prepared to support in detail by way of governmental records, that the reading and discussion material recommended by the Freedom Agenda Program has been authored by individuals who have a record of communist front affiliation or are communists. (100-391697-267)

The above charges were again repeated by the Americanism Committee of the American Legion Post at Kenosha, Wisconsin, at a public rally held by that post on November 30, 1955. The Committee urged that the Freedom Agenda Program be abandoned in view of the charges that the reading and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

discussion material has been prepared by individuals who have a record of communist front affiliations or are communists. The League of Women Voters at Kenosha, Wisconsin, which was sponsoring the Freedom Agenda Program there, answered the Legion's charges with a five-page bulletin in which they stated "we found the charges unpersuasive." ("Milwaukee Sentinel," Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 30, 1955) (100-391697-A)

#### Southern Regional Council (SRC)

The November 7, 1955, issue of the "New York Journal-American," carried an article written by Leon Recht, which stated that the SRC, which has a \$240,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic to study interracial relationship, has 21 members with past procommunist affiliations. The article then identifies these individuals and sets out in detail their alleged procommunist affiliations.

The November 8, 1955, issue of the above newspaper sets forth an article reflecting an interview of Hutchins, president of the Fund, in which Hutchins defends the directors of the SRC in spite of their alleged procommunist affiliations. Hutchins stated that the accusations against them are "inaccurate and perfidious." (100-391697-A)

#### Council on Communications Research

In October, 1955, the Fund granted \$5,000 to the Council on Communications Research, an affiliate of the Association for Education in Journalism, to conduct a study to determine without commitment the feasibility and practicability of a study of the performance of the American press during the 1956 Presidential campaign. The study was proposed to the Fund by the National Committee on Ethics and News Objectivity of Sigma Delta Chi, national journalistic fraternity.

On January 27, 1956, the Sigma Delta Chi announced that as a result of a poll of 76 editors and publishers, they have scrapped the plans for the above-mentioned study. (January 27, 1956, "The Evening Star") (100-391697-336)

#### District of Columbia Bar Association

The January 11, 1956, issue of "The Washington Star," newspaper, reported that the District of Columbia Bar Association voted on January 10, 1956, to set up a nonprofit foundation for research into legal programs, with a study of State Department passport policies as an initial project, expected to be completed in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May, 1956. It was reported that the Fund tentatively had offered a \$25,000 grant for the undertaking. Objection to the proposed foundation was voiced by Miss Kathryn Casey, who declared that the "whole slant of the Fund (Fund for the Republic) is to the left," (100-391697-A)

San Francisco Council for Civil Unity (SFOCU)

The February 6, 1956, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper, reported that the SFOCU was sponsoring a series of 26 TV programs over a station KNOP-TV (owned and operated by the Chronicle) beginning February 26, 1956. The series to be called "Barrier," will be financed by a \$35,000 grant from the Fund and will deal with specific cases in the Bay area concerning race relations, loyalty oaths, religious bigotry and civil liberties. The program will be narrated by the Council's executive director Edward W. Howden, with assistance from writer-producer Paul Gluda and the Council directors Brooks Clyde and Bill Losh. Howden announced that if the programs prove successful the Fund will spend an additional \$25,000 for more programs. (100-391697-337)

The files of this Bureau reflect that the SFOCU was founded in 1944 for the purpose of dealing with prejudice or discrimination against persons or groups for reasons of color, creed or ancestry. The Communist Party (CP) played some part in the formation of the Council and there were some CP members on the board of directors and staff during 1944-47, however, according to informants who have furnished reliable information in the past, the CP has had no control over the policies or activities of the SFOCU since early 1947. (100-300461-29, 3)

Edward W. Howden, executive director of the SFOCU since 1946, was the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by this Bureau in 1949, which revealed that although he was not known to be a CP member, he had associated with communists and communist front organizations during the early 1940's. [REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

[REDACTED] (100-360252;  
121-28004-20; 101-2527-9)

Our files contain no pertinent information regarding  
[REDACTED] Bill (William J.) Losh and Brooks Clyde.

b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Vanderbilt University Law School

It was announced on October 6, 1955, that the Vanderbilt University Law School would set up a reporting service in the field of race relations to report on court decisions, administrative regulations and laws dealing with race relations. This service was to be financed by a \$200,000 grant from the Fund.

On February 25, 1956, it was announced that the first edition of "The Race Relations Law Reporter," a bimonthly magazine, was published by the Vanderbilt University Law School. The edition described as "strictly objective," reportedly covers much of the legal history leading to the present racial tensions of the South. According to Paul H. Sanders, professor of law at the University, the magazine "will not editorialize or express opinions" on racial integration or the "legal feasibility of particular plans or procedures." He added that primary emphasis would be placed on the field of public education, but material in all fields where the issue of race or color is presented as having consequence will be reported. He said that subscriptions from more than 2,400 persons had been received, including educators, lawyers, legislators, courts and professional groups and journalists. (February 26, 1956, "The New York Times")

(100-391697-A)

It is noted that Paul H. Sanders was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau in 1955, which revealed no derogatory information. (77-19979)

New York County Lawyers Association;  
Association of the Bar of the City of New York

The March 26, 1956, issue of "The New York Times" newspaper carried an article indicating that the New York County Lawyers Association and the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, about a year ago set up the training of a special panel of attorneys to help defend Federal employees and industrial workers in security risk cases, under a \$15,000 grant from the Fund. According to the article, members of the panel will be made available through the Legal Referral Service, 36 West 44th Street, New York City, headed by Richard Haydock. The panel consists of approximately twenty-five lawyers and has been trained since last November under a program directed

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

by David I. Shapiro, according to M. H. Nordlinger, chairman of the Association's Joint Committee on Legal Referral Service. Shapiro was assisted by Stephen Vladeck, Murray Gordon, Montague Casper, Benjamin C. O'Sullivan and Rowland Watts.

(100-391697-363)

The files of this Bureau contain no derogatory information concerning Richard Haydeck, Stephen Vladeck, Montague Casper and David I. Shapiro. H. H. Nordlinger is possibly identical with one H. H. Nordlinger, New York City, a member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) in 1938 and on the mailing list of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights, in 1941, both organizations cited by the HCUA. Benjamin C. O'Sullivan is possibly identical with an individual who in 1947 was in contact with a number of individuals identified as being involved in Soviet espionage activities. Rowland Watts served a three-year term as a conscientious objector during World War II; was investigated by this Bureau in 1950 for impersonating an FBI Agent, however, the impersonation was denied by Watts and Federal prosecution was declined; from 1947-55 was connected with various organizations cited by the Attorney General, as a speaker, endorser and fund raiser; from 1951 to 1954 represented a number of seamen screened off merchant ships as security risks; in August, 1955, completed a survey of the Army Military Personnel Security Program under a grant from the FFR. Murray Gordon was the subject of a security-type investigation by this Bureau in 1956 on the basis he was visited in December, 1955, by a contact of a suspected Soviet agent. During 1947-49 he was attorney for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, cited by the Attorney General. During 1951-55 he represented various individuals involved in loyalty-security hearings.

(100-391697-363)

#### SPECIAL AWARDS

##### National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The NAACP announced in New York City on October, 28, 1955, that it had received a gift of \$50,000 from the Fund to be used "for the purpose of continuing our fight to remove all forms of discrimination against colored Americans in education." The money was accepted by Thurgood Marshall, head of the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP. (The 1955 issue of "The White Sentinel," official organ of the National Citizens Protective Association, St. Louis, Missouri.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This Bureau has not investigated Marshall. Our files show that he has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild (1949) and the International Juridical Association, both cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Other information in our files indicates that Marshall, in connection with his NAACP activities, has supported or dealt with individuals described as communist fellow-travelers. However, our files also show that Marshall has condemned communism, has condemned subversive organizations and warned the Negroes against them, and has attempted to remove communist influence from Negro organizations. (62-86660-5)

Toledo (Ohio) Bar Association

In November, 1955, this Bureau received information from a member of the Toledo Bar Association, Toledo, Ohio, to the effect that George J. Gould, Toledo attorney and member of the Bar's Constitutional Rights Committee, submitted a check for \$10,000 to the Toledo Bar Association from the Fund for the Republic during the past year. According to the source, Gould was originally approached concerning these funds by a Mr. Freeman, believed to be associated with the Fund or the Ford Foundation, or both. Freeman had made it known to Gould that funds were available from the Fund for the Republic as a grant to the Toledo Bar Association if the money or at least a considerable portion thereof would be used in providing legal aid for "subversive cases or other unpopular causes." According to the source, the Toledo Bar Association had not yet decided whether to accept or reject the \$10,000 although they were still in possession of the check. (100-391697-294)

William Jeanes Memorial Library  
Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

The William Jeanes Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, on June 22, 1955, received a \$5,000 award from the Fund for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" for hiring and refusing to fire Mary G. Knowles, (100-338615) a librarian, who previously refused to discuss past Communist Party activities while testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 and 1955. (100-391697-146)

The township supervisors at Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, held a meeting on September 21, 1955, and voted not to accept the award; however, in view of contrary votes it was decided to place the money in escrow. Meetings were subsequently held on October 15, 1955, and November 17, 1955, at which time the township supervisors were still undecided about retaining the money or returning it to the Fund. (November 5, 1955, issue of "The Nation," November 17, 1955, issue "New York Herald Tribune") (100-391697-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On July 18, 1956, a subcommittee of the HCUA began hearings at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to determine the reason behind the Fund's \$5,000 award to the captioned library. Isaac Shephard, former treasurer of the library testified that the hiring of Knowles had caused considerable dissention and that the award was still in sacrow. Judge George C. Corson, a member of the Plymouth Friends Meeting testified that the majority of the Quaker body was "absolutely opposed to retaining Mrs. Knowles." He added that the group had been "stigmatized" by the Fund's award. Henry Hensley, former member of the library committee stated that at one of the meetings he asked Mrs. Knowles regarding her Communist Party membership. She made no reply. At a later date he asked her again, but she refused to answer. Hiring Mrs. Knowles, he said, has divided the community. Mrs. Maureen Black Ogden, an investigator for the FFR testified that she had investigated the Quaker group and recommended the \$5,000 award be made to the group's library fund. She stated that it was not her duty to probe into the past of Mrs. Knowles before recommending the award be given; nor was it part of her assignment to read Mrs. Knowles' previous testimony before the HCUA. (The Philadelphia "Inquirer," July 19, 1956). (100-391697-A)

#### Television Programs

In December, 1954, the FFR appropriated \$75,000 for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. The September 16, 1955, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, reported that the Fund had awarded 19 prizes for original television scripts in the drama and documentary class.

The July 2, 1956, issue of the "Daily Worker" reported that the Fund had stated it has made vigorous attempts to interest film, radio and television outlets in films and scripts dealing with civil liberties, but so far there are no buyers. Of the 20 scripts which won prizes in the Fund's competition held more than a year ago, the paper said, all but two were rejected for the screen, radio and television. According to the article, the Fund offered no explanation for the lack of success they were having with their scripts.

(100-391697-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

### Other Activities

This Bureau on April 6, 1956, received information from an informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to the effect that B. J. Widick, Detroit, Michigan, member of the Independent Socialist League (cited by the Attorney General), stated he was going to Washington, D. C., to conduct a series of interviews with important people in the socialist and communist movements. This was in connection with a book he was writing, which he described as a report on the Communist Party. Widick stated that his book and his trip to Washington, D. C., were being sponsored by the Fund. (100-391697-369)

The FFR made public on June 22, 1956, a report on its first three years' operations. This report discloses a number of grants and activities not previously announced by the Fund. For information relative to these activities, you are referred to the Fund's "Three-Year Report," a copy of which is enclosed.

### CRITICISM OF THE FFR

Since its inception the Fund has been the subject of numerous censorious comments from various columnists and broadcasters who have been vitriolic in their criticism of the Fund, its officers and staff, its projects, and of organizations connected with it through grants and special awards. Excerpts from these criticisms are set forth below:

#### American Legion

According to the October 10, 1955, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, the National Executive Committee of the American Legion on October 9, 1955, accepted a report of its Americanism Committee which stated in part that the Fund "has been spending its money largely on products and individuals which have definite left-wing biases." (100-391697-A)

J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion in a speech on November 17, 1955, stated that the American Legion "formally charges that the Fund for the Republic renders comfort to the enemies of America." Addington stated further that "the managers of the Fund have

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

currently demonstrated that it is their intention to debunk what they consider to be the myth of the communist menace in the United States....I believe that it is now time for the American people to make known whether they personally approve a heavily-financed tax-exempt movement whose actions have served to discredit the Legislative and Executive agencies of Government in carrying out their constitutional responsibilities to preserve the security of the United States." (Washington City News Service, November 17, 1955) (100-391697-A)

In the December, 1955, issue of its magazine, the American Legion stated "we believe the Fund for the Republic has been duped or misled into using civil rights and civil liberties as a false issue"; under its leadership the Fund "has been spending money prodigally on projects and individuals which have definite left-wing biases."

J. Addington Wagner spoke at a public gathering at Los Angeles, California, on January 3, 1956, at which time he criticized the Fund for being among those who advocate that a person who pleads the Fifth Amendment should not be suspected of wrong-doing; that he should in some instances be commended for it. Wagner commented further that the Fund's projects are not designated to promote the common good; that they are those which cannot help but gladden the hearts of the remaining members of the CP of the U. S. A., and of their Russian masters. Wagner was critical of the Fund for advocating that the CP was a "political party" and not a menace to the United States. He added that objectionable activities of the Fund present a "most serious threat to America's success in the life and death struggle with communism." He declared the Fund to be an "aid and comfort to the enemy." (100-391697-319)

Wagner in a speech at New York City on February 18, 1956, urged that Congress examine the activities of the Fund "preliminary to determining whether its tax-free status is in the best interests of the people and the Government of the United States." ("New York Daily News," February 19, 1956) (100-391697-A)

In a speech on February 29, 1956, at Washington, D. C., Wagner attacked the Fund and stated that the Fund attributes the real danger to the nation and its freedom to those who fight communism and not to communism itself. ("Washington Post and Times Herald," March 1, 1956) (100-391697)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The American Legion at its August, 1956, Illinois State Convention passed a resolution charging that Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, was unseated for the responsibility of directing the activities of the Fund and that he has been "trying to propagandize Americans into believing that communism never has been and is not now a serious danger to this country." Another resolution suggested that the Subversive Activities Control Board hold hearings on the Fund and inquire as to why the Fund should not register with the Attorney General. ("Chicago Daily News," August 2, 1956)  
(100-391697-A)

David Lawrence

Lawrence in his September 16, 1955, column said that the Fund is "engaged in active propaganda seeking to discredit the security system of the United States Government." He stated that the Fund consists of a Board of Directors "predominately from the 'left wing'; that it is apparent that most of the Fund's projects are concerned with an attempt to discredit and ridicule, if not abolish, the present security system. ("New York Herald Tribune," September 16, 1955)  
(100-391697-A)

Lawrence in his column appearing in the January 5, 1956, issue of the "Washington Star" newspaper stated that the Fund has spent its money on projects and the distribution of books and pamphlets to minimize the communist menace and to show that the Communist Party is merely a political party and not a conspiracy to destroy this country.

(100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr.

In his column of September 13, 1955, Lewis stated that by and large the individuals who control the Fund and direct its operations are as fine a collection of "ultra-liberals, outright leftists, and apologists for Communism" as ever could be gathered under one tent. ("Washington Report," syndicated column, September 13, 1955)

(100-391697-A)

In his syndicated column on September 25, 1955, Lewis stated that he had been doing a great deal of inquiring into the activities of the Fund. As a result he is convinced that a "substantial part -- in fact, almost all -- of its activities are carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation." ("Washington Report," syndicated column, September 25, 1955)  
(100-391697-182)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On his December 6, 1955, broadcast, Lewis stated that the Fund has had a garish career of giving grants to left-wing organizations of every description and has financed the widespread distribution of literature designed to tear down the Government's loyalty and security program. (94-4-2189)

In December, 1955, Lewis announced that he was making available to the public a booklet containing pertinent portions of his broadcasts beginning with August, 1955, in which he critically discussed various activities of the Fund and its officers. (100-391697-327)

Lewis stated on his June 18, 1956, broadcast that he has it on good authority that the Fund itself originated the idea of Richard Hevers article entitled "The Kept Witness," (which is critical of the Government's confidential informant system), had the article written, and after it was published in the May, 1955, issue of "Harper's Magazine," obtained 25,000 reprints of the article and distributed them to the public.

Additional comments of Lewis concerning the Fund are reflected elsewhere in this memorandum in connection with specific activities of the Fund. (100-391697-A)

#### George Sokolsky

In his column appearing in the September 24, 1955, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," George Sokolsky, columnist and newspaper commentator, stated that the Fund is attempting to smother all anticommunist investigations and activities. (62-89885-118)

On his October 16, 1955, broadcast Sokolsky stated that most of the tax-free money spent by the Fund to date has been on what he regards as "left-wing" projects. He also charged that the Fund was engaged in political activities. (100-391697-A)

#### Other Criticisms

On December 7, 1955, Henry Ford II made public a letter in which he stated he feels that some actions of the Fund "have been dubious in character and inevitably have led to charges of poor judgment." (December 8, 1955, "New York Herald Tribune," "New York Daily News," "Washington Star") (100-391697-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

An individual who has furnished reliable information in the past advised this Bureau on October 8, 1955, that he had spent considerable time during the previous week with Elmo Roper, a member of the Fund's Board of Directors, and Louis Harris, his partner who is active in the Fund. According to the informant, both Roper and Harris agreed that the Fund was engaged in political activities rather than in pioneering activities not done by other people. (Irving Ferman, Washington, D. C., representative of the ACLU; 100-391697-226)

The Board of Directors of the California Republican Assembly (CRA) on October 9, 1955, demanded a Congressional investigation of the Fund, stating that "the CRA is opposed to allowing tax-free foundations to disseminate politically-slanted propaganda which could undermine the American system." ("Los Angeles Examiner," October 10, 1955) (100-391697-208)

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in a speech on December 5, 1955, before the Sertoma International, Chicago, Illinois, attacked the Fund as a "vicious anti-anti-Communist propaganda machine." McCarthy said that he was outraged that the Government, through tax exemption for foundations, is "subsidizing this brazen campaign to belittle the Communist menace and undermine our security program." ("Washington Post and Times Herald," December 6, 1955) (100-391697-A)

John O'Donnell in his column on December 2, 1955, stated that the whole Hutchins' operation and the Fund for the Republic gives off a "Red stench at its worst and a pink perfume at its best." ("New York Daily News," December 2, 1955) (100-391697-A)

The January, 1956, issue of the "American Mercury" magazine contains an article entitled "Where is the 'Liberty' in Civil Liberties," written by Harold Lord Varney. The author criticizes the Fund as being one of the organizations engaged in professional civil liberties agitation today. He claimed that when the Fund's "pied pipers ask us to crusade with them for 'liberty,' they are not talking about liberty under the accepted interpretation of the Bill of Rights. They are proposing a 'new look' Bill of Rights which has been twisted and contorted by the ideologies of its proposers to include protection of subversives and subversion. They are waging a politically-motivated campaign of civil liberties whose primary activity is the sneering and the discrediting of the nation's anticommunists."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The author further charged that Hutchins has loaded his generously-endowed projects with sniping operations against the anticommunists. He added that the Fund is unmistakably biased--biased in favor of those who have given aid, wittingly or unwittingly, to the communist conspiracy in America and biased against proven effective anticommunists.

According to the April 4, 1956, issue of the "National Review" the Fund was rebuked by the Special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives of the American Bar Association for the (unaccepted) grant of \$5,000 to the Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, library to make possible the employment of Mrs. Mary Knowles, who has refused to testify before a Congressional committee regarding her Communist Party record. It is noted that the grant was made by the Fund to the library in June, 1955, for its "courageous and effective defending of democratic principles" in refusing to fire Mary Knowles. (100-391697)

An article appearing in the June 27, 1956, issue of "The Lowdown" stated that Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund, has just released a study (unidentified but apparently referring to the Fund's "Three-Year Report") which indicates that "that worthy gentleman believes every communist has the moral and legal right to try to overthrow America, but that good, loyal Americans haven't the right to fight back." The article adds, "summed up, that is the philosophy that Mr. Hutchins is trying to sell the American people." It is noted that "The Lowdown" is a news letter on farm affairs published by the Washington News Syndicate, Washington, D. C.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

According to the October 10, 1955, issue of the "New York Times," the American Jewish League Against Communism, Inc., rejected a request for "cooperation" from the Fund. George E. Sokolsky, the League's President, said that they could not cooperate with the Fund because the League was satisfied that the Fund was not investigating communism without bias and that this bias can be described as "anti-anti-Communist." (100-391697-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Leon Racht, in his column appearing in the December 10, 1955, issue of the "San Francisco Call Bulletin," a San Francisco newspaper, commented on a recent "dubious" activity of the Fund. Racht stated that a "guidance center" has been operating for several years in New Rochelle, New York, under the directorship of Goodwin Watson, a former federal communications commissioner who was fired after a Congressional investigation in 1949 for "conduct intentionally destructive of or inimical to the US." Racht added that the American Legion had subsequently exposed Watson as a procommunist connected with numerous procommunist enterprises. The center refused to fire Watson and continued to receive support from the Larchmont and Hamerneck (County) Community Chests.

According to Racht, the Fund for the Republic in October, 1955, offered \$5,000 to the center in recognition of its support of Watson. The Fund also offered \$3,000 to Larchmont and \$2,000 to Hamerneck County Community Chest. Racht added that it was an under-the-table-deal with no publicity. However, during the negotiations information leaked to the American Legion who turned on the Fund. The Fund then announced that it had "deferred the matter indefinitely."

The October, 1955, issue of "The Virginian," a monthly "states' rights" paper published and circulated by The Virginia League, Newport News, Virginia, carried an article captioned "Left Fund Meddles in Virginia School Affairs." According to the article the Virginia Council on Human Relations (not further described) was organized in February, 1955, and was financed by "the infamous 'Fund for the Republic' of the Ford Foundation." The article went on to state that it is well known that the Fund specializes in financing left-wing organizations and groups and had been denounced by the American Legion and on the floor of the United States Congress.

(105-38960-18)  
According to an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, "The Virginia League" was formed in June, 1955, for the purpose of advocating segregation between the white and colored and opposition to the Supreme Court ruling on integration in public schools. (105-38960-13,18)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The HCUA (House Committee on Un-American Activities) announced on June 11, 1956, that it would open hearings June 27 to determine whether the Fund for the Republic is "friend or foe" in the struggle against communism. Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter said that Congress should learn whether the Fund, which is supported by the Ford Foundation and enjoys tax immunity, is "serving an interest inimical to our basic traditions." Walter said that the Fund is financing a "number of activities" which have been criticized by members of Congress and patriotic organizations. ("Washington Post and Times Herald," June 12, 1956) (100-391697-A)

The Washington City News Service carried an announcement on June 20, 1956, that the HCUA had postponed its hearings on the Fund indefinitely. Committee Chairman Walter said that the inquiry has not been abandoned, even though no new date was set. He said preliminary staff work had gone slower than expected and that there was no pressure of any kind brought to bear on him. "It is just that a number of things have happened that prevented the staff from completing its inquiry," Walter said. Walter added that the delay was necessary to permit the staff to examine certain additional facets of the Fund's activities. A committee source said that some of the new lines of inquiry appeared to be more promising than those on which the staff had worked previously. (100-391697-A)

On June 21, 1956, Richard Arens, chief counsel for the HCUA, publicly announced that the committee's investigation of the Fund would not be held this year because of the July-August political conventions and a Committee rule against holding hearings within 60 days of an election. Arens denied rumors that prospective witnesses had backed out. ("Washington Post and Times Herald," June 22, 1956) (100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. stated on June 21, 1956, that the Fund has issued a report which he assumes is the annual report, giving a "rosy picture" of the Fund's accomplishments. (Lewis is referring to the Fund's "Three-Year Report," a copy of which is being enclosed herewith). In this report Paul Hoffman says that the Fund has "sought to do something about the erosion of our ancient liberties, to work against racial discrimination

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

46677

and to promote a wider understanding of our heritage of freedom and justice in developing a strong, enterprising America." Lewis said that when translated into acts and accomplishments these words relate to a picture which is "sinisterly different." "It is, instead, a picture of planned attack and sabotage against the Federal Government's loyalty-security program, against Congressional investigation into communism and other subversive activities and a general organized effort in the field of arousing racial strife and friction as a means of inflating trouble and disharmony on which to play for their own communist advantage." (94-4-2189)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his June 21, 1956, broadcast mentioned an incident in Santa Anna, California, involving two Negro girl students at Chapman College. Herread an article from the "Santa Anna Register" stating that the two students were ousted from their apartment because they were Negroes; that they refused to cooperate with a "leftist civil rights group hoping to make a television movie of the incident"; that Herbert Bernard, a former writer now with the Fund for the Republic as a news film producer, called one of the girls "pig headed"; that the girls said they felt discrimination is an internal problem for the United States and that they did not feel they should take a stand; that the girls are natives of Panama and they felt relations between Panama and America might be endangered if they cooperated with Bernard's project; that Bernard told the girls films of the incident would be helpful to the United States and said his group makes films of civil rights incidents which, according to a Fund employee, are distributed free of charge to television stations; and that Bernard denied that the girls' story would have been slanted--"We're not leading it. We are merely reporting it." Mr. Lewis said that he feels the two girls are to be highly commended for making a much greater contribution to the cause of better racial relations than the Fund for the Republic had any sincere intention of doing. (94-4-2189)

Our files fail to reflect any information identifiable with Herbert Bernard.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum

2 • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: August 28, 1956

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

### SYNOPSIS

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman, 8-7-56, recommending Central Research review "The Trial of Socrates, Dialogues of Plato: Apology: Crito, Together with an Account of the Death of Socrates as Narrated by Phaedo," read by Thomas Mitchell, recorded by Audio Book Co., St. Joseph, Michigan. Necessary playback equipment not available. Reviewed from tape recordings. Consisted of Dialogues of Plato translated by Benjamin Jowett, published 1892. Apology recounts Socrates' defense of himself at trial. Explains mission of detecting pretended wisdom of mankind. States man's greatest care should be improvement of soul, not person or property. Crito visits Socrates before execution and, through discussion, brought to see folly of urging that Socrates escape. Socrates regarded as a danger to state. Phaedo relates last moments Socrates' life. Entire selection extremely flexible for propaganda purposes. Socrates could symbolize nonconformist defending right of freedom of speech. In foreword to recordings, Robert M. Hutchins of Fund for Republic, states that then, as now, endangering reputations of influential men regarded as danger to state. Obvious how effectively Socrates could be used to symbolize liberals, nonconformists, and even communists. File review reflects no conclusive information Thomas Mitchell member of, or in sympathy with, Communist Party. During World War II, Mitchell's Russian sympathies evident by reported participation numerous concerts, etc., for Russian relief. NY Journal American, 6-9-53, stated Mitchell only insurgent winner Actors' Equity election. Insurgents lost fight for stronger anticommunist policy. No pertinent data Bufiles re Audio Book Company.

### RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

Enclosures

Classified by SP2 BTJ/08

Declassify on: OADR

MMC:njp

(3)

- 1-Section tickler
- 1-Mr. Nichols
- 1-Mr. Belmont

- 1-Mr. Young
- 1-Mr. M. A. Jones
- 1-Espionage Section
- 1-F. J. Baumgardner

25 SEP 6 1956

60 SEP 18 1956



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

DETAILS

Reference is made to the enclosed memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman dated 8-7-56, recommending that the records entitled "The Trial of Socrates, 2 Dialogues of Plato; Apology: Crito, Together with an Account of the Death of Socrates as Narrated by Phaedo," read by Thomas Mitchell and prepared by the Audio Book Company of St. Joseph, Michigan, be reviewed in the Central Research Section. It is to be noted that The Fund for the Republic entered into an agreement with the Audio Book Company to underwrite the cost of albums on topics agreed upon. (100-391697-400, encl. p. 36)

The playback equipment necessary to play 16 2/3 RPM recordings was not available in the Laboratory, and it was necessary for the Laboratory to prepare tape recordings of the original records. A careful review of the tape recordings reflected that these records followed verbatim the Dialogues of Plato translated into English by Benjamin Jowett and published by Macmillan and Co. in 1892.

REVIEW OF RECORDINGS

APOLOGY

Accused of being "an evil-doer and a curious person, searching into things under the earth and above the heaven; and making the worse appear the better cause, and teaching all this to others," and one who is "an evil-doer and corrupter of the youth, who does not receive the gods whom the state receives, but introduces other new divinities," Socrates stands before his judges. He eliminates the confusion of the first accusation by explaining his all-absorbing mission of detecting the pretended wisdom of mankind. The first part of the indictment he answers by stating that he certainly would not make the citizens worse when he has to live with them; that in his defense he is speaking the truth, but his plainness of speech makes them hate him, and "what is their hatred but a proof that I am speaking the truth?" Socrates handles the second class of his accusers by publicly interrogating Meletus, who brought the charges against him. Deftly and subtly Socrates shows Meletus to be reckless, impudent and confused in this indictment. In his summary, Socrates says "...I believe that no greater good has ever happened in the state than my service to the God. For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons or properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

of the soul... This is my teaching, and if this is the doctrine which corrupts the youth, I am a mischievous person... Wherefore, O men of Athens, I say to you... I shall never alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times." After the verdict of death has been announced, Socrates continues his address. He charges the Athenians with murdering him to escape their accuser and prophesies the rise of future accusers, more inconsiderate and offensive than himself.

### CRITO

Here, Socrates is not depicted as the philosopher but as a good citizen, unjustly condemned and willing to die in obedience to the laws of the state. Crito, Socrates' aged friend, visits him in prison as the time of execution nears. He first attempts to persuade Socrates to escape into exile, then tries to shame him by confronting him with the problem of Socrates' orphaned children. Through intense discussion and analyzation of the consequences of escape, Socrates, guided by reason, proves to Crito the folly of such a course. "Think not of life and children first, and of justice afterwards, but of justice first, that you may be justified before the princes of the world below."

### PHAEDO

The only part of this translation used is that which sets forth the very last moments of Socrates' life. With his soul arrayed in "temperance, and justice, and courage, and nobility, and truth," Socrates calmly drinks the hemlock in the presence of his grief-stricken friends.

### POSSIBILITIES OF UTILIZING THIS SELECTION AS PROPAGANDA TOOL

Of all the Greek classics, this particular selection, the Dialogues of Plato, could most effectively serve as a subtle propaganda tool. The possibilities of drawing a parallel between the trial of Socrates in democratic Athens and present day trials in democratic America are limitless. Socrates, although in reality not a freethinker, could very well be used as a symbol of the nonconformist, faced by the leering majority and eliminated solely because of his expressed deviation from accepted theories. The martyred idealist! The epitome of justice, denied the right of self-expression and sacrificed on the altar of the state gods. Facing a hostile world because he dared to speak

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the "truth," and willing to die a thousand deaths in the cause of "justice," Socrates gave to his successors the long-lived example of supreme sacrifice for the sake of the cause. No matter how many times the "gadfly which God has attached to the State" was crushed, his principles would never die. Through his questioning, he had forced his fellowmen to recognize the confusion and ignorance in which they lived, thereby reducing the pretensions of those who considered themselves above reproach. As Robert M. Hutchins says in the foreword to the Audio Book Company recordings, "Then, as now, to endanger the reputations of influential men comes to be regarded as a danger to the foundations of the State."

Little imaginative exercise is necessary to envision Socrates further desecrated into a symbol of present day communism.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES RE THOMAS MITCHELL

A review of pertinent Bureau files reflects the following information concerning Thomas Mitchell:

The program for a Russian War Relief, Inc. sponsored concert in Los Angeles on December 3, 1941, listed, among numerous Hollywood personalities and others who were sponsors, one Thomas Mitchell. (100-37226-38, p. 4)

The "Daily People's World," a west coast communist newspaper, on March 25, 1942, described the Russian War Relief Association rally held at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles on March 24, 1942. Thomas Mitchell, the actor, was identified as chairman and narrator at the rally which culminated a campaign to fill a Russian ship with relief cargo for the Russians. In attendance at the meeting were personnel of a Russian ship docked at Los Angeles, Russian Consular officials, and prominent Los Angeles city and government officials. (77-55650-55)

On May 9, 1942, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that during a conference between two communist instigators among Hollywood personalities for the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder one stated he was going to approach the actor Thomas Mitchell, who, he understood, was "approachable." (100-24499-156, p. 32)

(U)

- 4 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The "Daily People's World" issue of July 23, 1942, described a war poster contest to be sponsored by the Russian War Relief Association, Hollywood Division, which was to award prizes for the best poster on August 1, 1942. Among the list of actors and actresses composing the committee for this contest appeared the name of Thomas Mitchell. (77-55650-55, p. 6)

In January, 1945, an extremely confidential source made available lists of the officers and members of the Russian-American Club in Los Angeles. One Thomas Mitchell was listed as an official member of the club. (100-331001-4, p. 17)

An informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during the middle 1940's the Russian-American Club of Los Angeles, which operated in conjunction with the American-Russian institute, was located at Beverly and Fairfax Avenues in Los Angeles. The informant stated that the name of one Thomas Mitchell, 204 North Reeves Drive, Beverly Hills, California, had appeared on the official membership list of the Russian-American Club of Los Angeles for the year 1945. Mr. Deak, business manager for Thomas Mitchell, stated that the latter owned the apartment at this address. (77-55650-55, p. 6)

(U) ~~(S)~~

[redacted] advised in November of 1947, that he was present at the Russian War Relief rally held at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles on March 24, 1942. He stated that following the rally, a reception was held at the Russian Restaurant in Los Angeles which had been for the benefit of certain Russian Consular officials in the Los Angeles area. He said he recalled observing Thomas Mitchell, the actor, sitting at one of the prominent tables at this reception held for the Russian Consular officials. (77-55650-55, p. 5)

b6  
b7C  
b7D

During the investigation of an alien in 1948, a search of the personal effects of this individual revealed two personal telephone directories. Among those individuals listed were Hollywood celebrities Charles Chaplin, Paulette Goddard, Jose Iturbi, Thomas Mitchell, Edward G. Robinson, and others. (100-107857-83, p. 2)

On February 24, 1949, the play "The Emerald Staircase," written by Dalton Trumbo, produced by Lee Sakinson, directed by Herman Shumlin, and starring Thomas Mitchell, opened in New Haven. (100-72270-27, p. 4)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

The June 9, 1953, edition of the New York Journal American carried an article indicating that actor Thomas Mitchell was the only insurgent winner in the Actors' Equity election to fill 18 posts. The results of this election indicated that insurgents in the union lost their fight for a stronger anticommunist policy. (100-49952-A) 51

The Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

The 1949 California Senate Fact-Finding Report on Un-American Activities identified various activities of the American-Russian Institute, including the sponsoring of Russian War Relief throughout the United States. The American-Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles, has been declared by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

The search slips prepared by the Records Section are enclosed.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES RE AUDIO BOOK COMPANY

A search of Bureau indices failed to reflect any pertinent information regarding the Audio Book Company of St. Joseph, Michigan.

EW AB/CS Jha

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: August 7, 1956

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nichols by memorandum to Mr. Tolson 7/24/56 stated that former Assistant to the Director, Ladd, made available a copy of a letter dated 5/8/56, in which Professor William E. Fort, Jr., Winter Park, Florida, criticizes the Fund for sending out a brochure advertising a phonograph record entitled "The Trial of Socrates." Professor Fort states that the brochure tries to draw a parallel between Socrates' trial and that of the present-day communists. Mr. Nichols suggested that perhaps we should get a copy of the record. The Director noted "Yes. H." (100-391697-404)

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, the New York Division has obtained a copy of the record, "The Trial of Socrates." It is one of 3 records distributed by the Fund in a packet which also contains the records "2 Dialogues of Plato: Apology; Crito." These records are read by Thomas Mitchell, actor, with a foreward by Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund. New York advised that the brochure advertising the record was not available and in the event a copy is made available, it will be furnished to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the above-mentioned records be forwarded to the Central Research Section for review.

RECORDED 29 ENCLOSURE

PAY:uec  
(8)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

Enclosure.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-8-89 BY 2081513/afp

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION - FBI  
CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

\_\_\_\_\_, 1956

____ Director	____ Mr. W.C. Sullivan
____ Mr. Tolson	____ Mr. R.W. Smith
____ Mr. Boardman	
____ Mr. Belmont	____ Mr. C.D. Brennan
____ Mr. Hennrich	____ Mr. Calame
____ Mr. J.A. Sizoo	____ Mr. Condon
____ Mr. Cleveland	____ Mr. Garner
____ Mr. Scatterday	____ Mr. Miniter
	____ Mr. Peck
____ Miss Gandy	____ Mr. J.M. Sizoo
____ Mr. Holloman	____ Mr. Youtz
____ Mr. Nease	
	____ Miss Askew
____ Mr. Baumgardner	____ Miss Babcock
____ Mr. Bland	____ Miss Chamberlain
____ Mr. Branigan	____ Miss Ford
____ Mr. Roach	____ Mr. Howe
	____ Mr. Taylor
____ Miss Lewis	____ Mrs. Whalen
	____ Miss Bowman
Room _____	____ Miss Butler
	____ Mrs. Fullerton
____ Mr. M.A. Jones	____ Miss Hycnar
____ Mr. Downing	____ Miss LePon
____ Bu. Library 4248	____ Miss Pardee
____ Exhibits Section	____ Mrs. Rogers
____ Mechanical Sec.	____ Mrs. Schweitzer
____ Publication Files	____ See Me Please
	____ Call Me Please
____ Records Section	____ Please Handle
____ Service Unit	____ Note and Return
____ Send File	____ Initial and Return
____ Up-to-date	____ When Completed
____ Place on Record	
and Return	

These were inadvertently detached  
from a memorandum I prepared last week  
regarding the Fund for the Republic  
dated 8/28/56. This memorandum states  
that the search slips are attached.

Chamberlain 7640

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-8-89 BY 2881573/ef

100-391697-414

Mr. Nichols

August 29, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
AUGUST 29, 1956, 7 P.M.

On his Wednesday night broadcast, Lewis commented on the reaction of Fund officials to the current HCUA hearings and stated that the Committee is now going to launch full-scale inquiries into the Fund for the Republic. He said the Fund has built up a clear record of serving the anti anticommunist cause and added that his broadcasts which are in book form contained a complete documentation of the Fund's activities.

Lewis added that the "pig is squealing because it is hurt" and said that the Fund officials devoutly wished to avoid this public airing by the HCUA. According to Lewis, the Fund officials had planned to have Hoffman and Hutchins lead off the hearings with high-sounding platitudinous statements and get the investigators in the defensive. Lewis said that instead Congressman Walters has been picking at the Fund's projects one at a time and is exposing them for what they really are. With such documented information on record, Hoffman and Hutchins will be cut to ribbons if they tried to make any grandiose statements.

Lewis concluded by advising he had information that Treasury officials have reviewed the Fund's tax exempt status and that they are in favor of its revocation.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-89 BY 20857 Jaf

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

HPL:jh  
(7)

61 SEP 10 1956

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
138 SEP 8 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-391697-208



Mr. Nichols

September 6, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
RADIO BROADCAST  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1956

Mr. Lewis, in his broadcast this evening, made brief mention of the Fund for the Republic. He stated that Mr. Paul Hoffman made a speech today in which he defended Robert Hutchins, Head of the Fund. Hoffman, according to Lewis, stated that Hutchins was honest, but unfortunately had difficulty in communicating his full ideas to others. Lewis ridiculed Hoffman's statement, saying that Hutchins had a long career as a university official and always had been able to talk at will on practically anything. Lewis added that at a previous dinner in Washington, Hoffman had a different version, namely that he indicated that he agreed with everything Hutchins stood for--the only difference being that Hutchins had the courage of his convictions while Hoffman did not.

Lewis indicated that Hoffman had commented concerning the proposed investigation of the Fund for the Republic by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Lewis quoted Hoffman as saying that he (Hoffman) would like to testify but that to date Representative Walters had not given him the opportunity. Lewis ridiculed this idea saying that this chance would come later.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Fund for the Republic (100-391697)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-8-89 BY 858357012

FCS:sak  
(7)

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
149 SEP 19 1956

265 1 1 27 6W .20

LET-1021102  
REC'D SEP 19 1956

50 SEP 19 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: September 13, 1956

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The August 30, 1956, issue of the Eugene (Oregon) Register Guard newspaper contained an editorial captioned "Who Is a Communist and Why?" This editorial mentions a publication "Know Your Communist Enemy, Who are Communists and Why?" The Director asked, "Have we received this publication?"

The answer to the Director's question is yes. The pamphlet "Who Are the Communists and Why?" was issued on December 8, 1955, by the Department of Defense as one of a series bearing the over-all caption "Know Your Communist Enemy." The Fund for the Republic, Inc. financed and distributed 50,000 copies of this pamphlet. This series of pamphlets has been reviewed by the Central Research Section. They were prepared for use of military personnel and appear to be adequate for that purpose. "Who Are the Communists and Why?" treats such topics as the motivation of persons joining the Communist Party, the hard-core member, the rank-and-file member, appeals of communism, communists as maladjusted persons, the idealists, chronic protesters, et cetera. The Bureau is not mentioned in the pamphlet. It contains no information which is not already known to the Bureau.

In May, 1956, the pamphlet in question came to the Director's attention when The Fund for the Republic, Inc. announced it would finance and distribute 50,000 copies of it. In this connection, a memorandum dated May 10, 1956, captioned "The Fund for the Republic, Inc." is enclosed.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

That this memorandum be referred to the Director for his information.

Enclosures

RPC:njp

(6)

1-Section tickler

1-Mr. Belmont

1-Mr. Nichols

1-P. C. Young

1-Mr. Boardman

SENT DIRECTOR

9-14-56

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED - 94  
 DATE 8-27-89 BY 25235 JAG

100-391697-422

SEP 24 1956

Did we find anything  
 starting a movement  
 in the pamphlet?

# Who Is a Communist and Why?

Day in and day out, little pamphlets come across this desk. Many of them are devoted to what they see as an "anti-Communist" message. But few have impressed us as much as "Know Your Communist Enemy, Who are Communists and Why?" Distributed by the Fund for the Republic, it is the pamphlet that the Department of Defense has approved for the use of armed forces "I and E" officers who instruct soldiers and sailors in the basic facts of communism.

The first page of the pamphlet makes an important distinction between "the hard core" of the Communist Party and the "rank and file" membership. The Communist in the "hard core" knows very well what he is up to. Skilled in argument, well read in the philosophy of the party, he is absolutely obedient to the current "line." To him, the means (whatever it may be) justifies the end (world communism). The "rank and file" on the other hand is composed largely of dupes, many of whom will drop out after a few weeks or a few years. They are often in the party without understanding what it is. Most of them are young.

Communism appeals to four principal groups:

1. The weaklings and the maladjusted "square pegs" who want to be told what to do, who fear making their own decisions, who want something to cling to. They got into the party because the party provided all the answers. They are a sorry lot.

2. The idealists who are looking for a "cause." Many of them took up the Communist line in the 1930s when the Communists seemed to be the only people on earth who were making a courageous stand against fascism. They were not pro-Communist so much as anti-fascist. Realists among the idealists got out in a hurry after the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. This type Communist has ~~been~~ are bird in America since 1939.

A few, however, stuck with the Party through World War II when the Russians were killing large numbers of Nazis.

3. People "in a hurry to catch up." Included are the "colonials" in Asia and Africa, people who are impressed with what they understand is the Soviet Union's record of speedy industrialization. They want to be like Red China. They are lured into the Red network by Communist promises and by the Communist device of flattering the prospective customer. They like what the Red Chinese have done to the "colonial powers." They like the Communist promise of an end to color barriers and discrimination based solely on race.

4 The poverty-stricken and the hopeless. It is meaningful that only in France and Italy has the Communist party established strong beach-heads in the free world. And in those countries the Communist parties are basically parties of protest. The French and the Italian Communist does not dream, as the Indonesian or North African dreams, of a bold new world with a bold new Communist program. He dreams, rather, of the day when the "ins" will be "out." He is more interested in kicking up a fuss and in "throwing the rascals out" than he is in program or philosophy. He's just mad. In America we had many such in the early depression when American communism reached its record high.

And what of the "cure?" The armed forces manual doesn't prescribe one. But it does point out that European communism was stemmed, in a large measure, when American economic assistance gave hope and bread to the hopeless and the hungry. As the doctor treats not only the symptom, but also the cause, we see the need of eliminating the reasons for Communist appeal. If these reasons are eliminated, we need have no fear of a Communist world.

Mr. Mo  
Pat

Mr. Ro  
Party

Mr. W  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Mr. H  
Tele. R

Tolson

Boardman

Belmont

Mason

Mohr

Parsons

Rosen

Tamm

Nease

Winterrowd

Tele. Room

Holloman

Gandy

*Have me  
remined this  
publication?*

*RECORDED - 94  
100-391697-42*

11 SEP 24 1956

Wash. Post and

Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald

Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

N. Y. Daily News

Daily Worker

The Worker

New Leader

*Eugene Register Guard*

*Eugene, Oregon*

Date *8-30-56*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE *2-8-89* BY *00857 Jaf*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1956

TO:

___ Director	___ Mr. [redacted] 4
___ Mr. Tolson, 5744	___ Miss [redacted] 633
___ Mr. Boardman, 5736	___ Mr. [redacted], 5633
___ Mr. Belmont, 1742	
___ Mr. Mason, 5256	___ Records Branch
___ Mr. Mohr, 5517	___ Pers. Records, 6631
___ Mr. Parsons, 7621	___ Reading Room, 5531
___ Mr. Rosen, 5706	___ Mail Room, 5533
___ Mr. Tamm, 4130 IB	___ Teletype, 5644
___ Mr. Sizoo, 1742	___ Code Room, 4642
	___ Mechanical, B-114
___ Mr. Nichols, 5640	___ Supply Room, B-216
___ Mr. McGuire, 5642	___ Tour Room, 5226
___ Mr. Wick, 5634	
___ Mr. DeLoach, 5636	
___ Mr. Morgan, 5226	___ Miss Lurz
	___ Miss Carter
___ Mr. Jones, 4236	___ Mrs. Faber
___ Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB	___ Miss McCord
___ Mr. Waikart, 7204	___ Miss Loper
___ Mr. Eames, 7206	___ Miss Price
___ Mr. Wherry, 5537	___ Miss Gibson
___ See Me	
___ For Your Info	
___ For appropriate action	___ Note & Return

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-8-89 BY [signature]

Room 5640, Ext. 691

From  
GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY  
Kim-Feng Farm  
Otis, Massachusetts  
Telephone: Otis 26  
Teletypewriter: Otis (Mass.) 87

TELEPHONE CHANGED

Otis, Mass.

CELEX 9-25-1

MR. LOUIS B. NICHOLS

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Mr. Sokolsky asked me to send  
the attached copy of a letter and  
statement to you.

Sincerely yours,

*Helen Patt*  
Secretary

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY 888131108

2 ENCLOSURE

7/4  
EX-117

RECORDED - 76

INDEXED - 76

EX-117

SEP 18 1956

61 SEP 24 1956

LIAS

July 7, 1956

Mr. Richard Arens  
House Committee on Un-American Activities  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dick:

I have no files up here in the country to check dates, etc., but I am sure that my memory does not deceive me. I feel confident that this is a correct statement of the case.

The reason that I would give no information to Engberg or Cogley was that I do not believe that because Henry Ford left a lot of millions, the Fund for the Republic should engage in activities which they believe Congressional Committees, the FBI and other Americans should not engage in. The Ford millions do not make what is wrong right. However, I did tell Cogley that if he sent me his manuscript, I would read it and call his attention to what I believe to be errors. This he did not choose to do.

Faithfully yours,

GES:MF

George E. Sokolsky

Enc. (1)

\*\*cc Louis B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY SP8BJP

file 100-391697

ENCLOSURE

100-391697-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-28-89 BY 008571/1

Statement to House Committee on Un-American Activities

by George E. Sokolsky

In reply to your inquiry by telephone, I wish first to regret that my health does not yet permit me to come to Washington. Were it possible, I should only be pleased to join you.

I have read both volumes of the Cogley Report on "Blacklisting" and while the volume dealing with motion pictures appears to me to be of superior workmanship to the volume on radio and television, both suffer from inadequate research, from either an unwillingness or an inability to get at all the facts, from a double-standard of morals.

As regards the double-standard of morals, I note that some persons are identified by name while others are anonymous or are disguised by initials, or are turned into composite personalities so that their identities do not disclose themselves although certain phases of their personalities are identifiable. This is not objective reporting and represents, in my opinion, that characteristic of Congressional investigations which Mr. Cogley and others have described as McCarthyism, namely an accusation without adequate proof or any at all.

Before I proceed to answer your direct question, I wish to make the point that my interest was entirely in the field of movies and never in the field of radio and television. The reason is quite simple: In the motion picture field there was the possibility of aiding in the rehabilitation of men and women of talent, so that they might be enabled to contribute to American life. It was also possible to smash the Communist treasury which drew more heavily on Hollywood than anyone will ever be able to establish.

Also, the motion picture industry is well-organized, with comparatively few companies, headed by men of direct responsibility. Radio and television is a vast arena of networks, local stations, advertising agencies, producing companies, with participants who come and go and about whom one learns only long after the event. I therefore felt that while it was possible to do a constructive job in motion pictures, it was practically impossible to do anything constructive in radio and television.

Although Cogley mentions me often and apparently I have won some favor in his eyes, his researchers have failed to discover how I came into it

at all. There were two routes: At Jim McGuinness' funeral, or at his wake, some of us were discussing the enormous sacrifices this noble American made and how it really cost him his life. On that occasion, John Ford introduced me to Ward Bond and I learned of the work that these men were doing in Hollywood in their fight against the Communists. Their story appealed to me as one of the most constructive works in the anti-Communist movement, but I was immediately certain that the solution was not in blacklists or boycotts but in rehabilitation.

This conviction was strengthened by a visit to my home of Nate Spingold, a Vice-President of Columbia Pictures who had formerly been a newspaperman and who ranks high in culture and intelligence. Spingold was discussing a boycott of some of the pictures produced by his company. He challenged me to answer this question:

"Suppose a man is accused of being a Communist, or of having been one, how does he ever clear himself of the charge? Where is the forum? If he goes to the FBI, they take down what he says and then it is filed and nobody is permitted to see the files. The House Committee on Un-American Activities can only hear a few cases and they are selected and the Committee calls the few who are selected in its own time. Meanwhile, such a person cannot work. What do you say to that?"

No rule-of-thumb answer would do. After many telephone calls and exchanges of views, the reply to Spingold's challenge was three-fold:

1. No person could clear another. It is only possible for an individual to clear himself, because only he knows what his motives were and what all his actions were;

2. The only value of an outside group could be, from experience, to help to evaluate statements made by individuals and perhaps act as a clearing house for data. The clearing house idea was tried and failed because it was impossible to set up such an organization.

Instead each person who wanted to clear himself communicated in the form of a letter to his employer, the head of the company that employed him. In the event that the person was unemployed, he communicated with the company that formerly employed him or with a prospective employer.

3. No person engaged in this activity was to accept payment for any services or even compensation for expenses. This rule was adhered to strictly.

I do not and cannot know the correct number of those rehabilitated by this process. My rough estimate runs about 300 men and women who are today working in the motion picture industry who could not work before because of the record they had established of Communist or pseudo-Communist associations. Rather than being a blacklisting effort, this was an effort in rehabilitation.



It was unpopular on two sides: many sincere anti-Communists believed that it was an effort in the wrong direction because it made it possible for those who had been pro-Communists to work, but it failed to do anything for ex-Communists who testified before Congressional Committees and the FBI. This criticism was well-founded but those of us who worked in this program had no answer for it.

The second criticism came from the Communist group who prepared dishonest statements and wanted one of us to say that we believed every word they wrote. It was a very trying situation because while we rejected the concept of "clearing" as morally dishonest, we nevertheless had no desire to be tricked and fooled. On the whole, I would say this program was socially beneficial.

As regards your questions concerning the data running from page 89 in the radio and television report, this seems to me a melange of misinformation. I do not know who is responsible for it but it would seem that someone was boasting, was trying to give the appearance of being a big shot.

For instance, reference is made to a public relations counsel who obtained affidavits from me. I never signed an affidavit. Even if the word, affidavit, is put in quotation marks, it is untrue.

Reference is made to Victor Riesel, Frederick Woltman and I acting together. This never happened, except that Victor Riesel came to my house one day with John Garfield. Just before he died, Garfield was preparing a statement in Arnold Forster's office, which he told me would show the relation of Charlie Chaplin to Communist recruitment in this country. I never saw this statement. I was told that it was taken by Benjamin and Krim after Garfield died. I do not know whether this is true or not, as I did not pursue the subject.

Forster also asked me to see Judy Holliday and a man called Block who advertised a tooth paste on radio or television. I saw Judy Holliday but our conversation led to nothing. I also saw Block but only recall that he told me he had given someone "expenses" for clearing and I would have nothing to do with him.

The letter which Cogley's report says I gave an actor was to Luther Adler. I cannot understand why his name is omitted from the account as this seemed to me a clear case of injustice and I said so. I had known Luther Adler's father and mother, among the greatest actors of their time, and I respected them. I am sure that that played some emotional part in my attitude toward this man who while he was a liberal certainly was no Communist.

In any case, there was no clearing ring, as Cogley's book seems to infer. As for Frederick Woltman, an able journalist, I am quite sure that we had no occasion to discuss these particular problems at all.

It rather amuses me that with all the money that the Fund for the Republic has expended on this research, they did not get at the true nature

of the effort for rehabilitation and they permitted this so-called "public relations expert," whoever he may have been, to tell them a weird story which was wholly untrue. His motive could only have been to advertise his importance. No one ever asked me to see 10 or 12 persons interested in radio and television. I never saw others in this field than I have here indicated by name.

-ooOoo-

Mr. Nichols

9-12-56

M. A. Jones

**FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST  
SEPTEMBER 12, 1956  
C FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC**

In his radio broadcast at 7:00 P.M. on September 12, 1956, Mr. Lewis mentioned that bound volumes of his radio broadcast on the Fund for the Republic are still available for \$1.00 each; that they can be obtained by writing him at 1627 K Street, (Northwest) Washington, D.C.

**RECOMMENDATION:**

None. For information.

CC - Mr. Boardman

CC - Mr. Nichols

CC - Mr. Belmont

CC - Mr. Young, Room 7631

✓ CC - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

GWG:ivs

(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-3-89 BY 28857/98

100-391697-✓  
NOT RECORDED

46 SEP 14 1956

399  
401  
61 SEP 18 1956

94-11-2189-341  
ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

September 11, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-12-84 BY SP7 mac/pte

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

MR. NICHOLS:

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Boardman ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mason ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Holloman ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

While discussing other matters with Congressman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) on 9-11-56 he appeared to be quite desirous of discussing the captioned matter. He told me that he was becoming more and more discouraged regarding his Committee's inquiry into the activities of the Fund for the Republic. He stated that intense pressure was being brought to bear upon him; however, he was not giving up the fight and that as recent as last week he had called Sherman Adams at the White House and had told him that unless the President saw fit to over-rule the Treasury Department and removed the Fund for the Republic from its tax exempt status he was going to "embarrass the hell out of the President." Congressman Walter stated President Eisenhower had very little intestinal fortitude and he, therefore, felt certain this threat would bring results. He then explained that he had found it necessary to make this threat in view of the fact that he had received information indicating that Paul Hoffman had prevailed upon the White House and the Treasury Department to keep the Fund for the Republic in a tax exempt status despite the fact that the New York Office of Internal Revenue had recommended that the Fund be removed from such status.

As an example of pressure being brought to bear upon Walter, he mentioned that 2 of his best friends, Hugh Moore and Ned Fox, who reside in his Congressional District in the State of Pennsylvania, had recently invited him to a well known country club where they begged him to forget about his fight against the Fund. The Congressman stated that Hugh Moore was of great assistance to him in his campaigns and that Ned Fox was the individual who started him off in law practice years ago. He added that an attorney by the name of Webster, who had caused considerable interruptions when the HCUA held recent hearings on 7-18-56 concerning Mary Knowles, the librarian in the little Quaker town of Plymouth Meeting; that Webster had prevailed upon Moore and Fox, knowing that Moore and Fox were extremely close to the Congressman.

Congressman Walter revealed that recently Speaker Rayburn had personally called him and requested that he see Rayburn's "financial angel," who furnished campaign funds for Rayburn each time. The Congressman stated that he saw this individual and much to his amazement, this man begged him to lay off the Fund.

CDD:hpf  
(1)

60 SEP 20 1956

RECORDED-50  
INDEXED-90

101-391691-140  
11 SEP 19 1956

b7D

The Congressman stated that despite the above obstacles thrown in his path, he intended carrying on the fight, although the pressure against him is certainly becoming very great.

*[Signature]*  
C. D. DE LOACH

9/12

Mr. DeLoach advised.

*[Checkmark]*  
*[X]*  
This shows extent  
to which anti anti-communism  
will go.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY 008653/ag

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mason ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

(POLITICAL SCIENCE)

A HARVARD DEAN PROPOSED A NATIONWIDE PROGRAM OF SCHOOLROOM EDUCATION ON THE COMMUNIST MENACE TO MEET "ONE OF THE GREATEST AND MOST URGENT NEEDS" IN THE U.S.

DR. WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT, DEAN OF THE HARVARD SUMMER SCHOOL, MADE THE PROPOSAL AT THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION CONVENTION AS IT OPENED ITS SECOND DAY-LONG SESSION. PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT HOWARD PYLE WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK THIS AFTERNOON AT 12:15 P.M. EDT.

THE YOUTH OF AMERICA, ELLIOTT SAID AT A BREAKFAST CONFERENCE, "IS GROWING UP IGNORANT OF THE COLD, BASIC, HARD FACTS ABOUT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM -- FACTS THAT AFFECT THEIR OWN SURVIVAL AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE FREE WORLD."

HE PROPOSED A NATIONWIDE COMMITTEE BE SET UP TO SURVEY PRESENT HIGH SCHOOL, COLLEGE AND ADULT EDUCATION COURSES AND PREPARE EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL ON COMMUNISM. IT ALSO WOULD ESTABLISH PILOT PROGRAMS IN SELECTED SCHOOLS AND PILOT WORKSHOPS FOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. TRUMAN TONIGHT WILL ADDRESS THE 2,000 POLITICAL SCIENTISTS ATTENDING THE THREE-DAY CONVENTION.

9/7--GE905A

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
191 SEP 18 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

It might be alright if  
the "Ford Fund for the Republic  
or something like it didn't  
get their tentacles into it

SEP 19 1956

11 SEP 18 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON *1/10/56*

DATE: September 6, 1956

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS *1/10/56*

SUBJECT: AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY 205851 J1080

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Mr. DeLoach called from Los Angeles on the evening of September 5 regarding the following matters:

(1) The American Legion passed unanimously a resolution commending the Bureau. Attached is a copy of the release which was released to the press in Los Angeles and which was sent to George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Ogden Reid, and Paul Harvey. DeLoach suggested that we send a teletype to the Los Angeles Office for delivery to Wagner which Wagner would read at the opening session Thursday morning, September 6. This is the session that the Vice President addresses and begins at 9:30 A. M. which will be 12:30 P. M. our time. I told DeLoach to keep in touch with the Los Angeles Office Thursday morning, that we would give consideration to sending such a message. The message is attached.

(2) There have been numerous fracasces at the American Legion Convention this year. The Southern boys have gotten all excited over Governor Clement calling the troops out as this is an insult to Southerners and casts a reflection upon their ability to keep order. They ~~planned to~~ soundly condemn Clement. Somebody tipped Clement off and he flew to Los Angeles on Wednesday, appeared before the Southern caucus and asked to deliver greetings to the convention. He was well received and apparently put down the rebellion.

(3) The reception given Governor Stevenson was rude to the point of embarrassment. He was roundly booed and an individual shouted from the floor, "Throw him the hell out." Stevenson was obviously embarrassed and at one point commented that while we cannot all agree, he was glad to be in a country where there could be disagreement. One of the points which invited booing was when Stevenson said, "How can we expect to live in a free world when so many questions are asked about private lives?"

(4) The convention unanimously passed a resolution calling for investigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. There was no protest from the numerous colored Legionnaires present.

(5) There was unanimously passed a resolution calling for an investigation of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This is the one we have called to the attention of Tompkins on which the Department has taken no action.

Enclosures

ENCLOSURE

LBN:jmr

CC Mr. Jones

SEP 24 1956

Oval

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

(6) The convention passed a resolution calling for an investigation of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). There was opposition to this but it was explained that the ACLU had been attacking the Legion and it was now time for the Legion to attack the ACLU.

(7) There was a unanimous resolution condemning UNESCO and calling for an abolition of tax-exempt funds for UNESCO.

(8) There was a strong resolution condemning the Fund for the Republic. In fact, five were submitted and DeLoach helped consolidate them into one.

(9) There have been numerous favorable comments on the Bureau, particularly about the Weinberger and Riesel cases. On Sunday at a closed meeting of the Americanism Commission, DeLoach was called upon to comment briefly upon the Weinberger case. He did so, limiting his comments to what appeared in the press statements. One New York Legionnaire got up and denounced the Nassau County Police.

DeLoach states that Hanning has been most effective and the two of them have been on the go. They will fly back to Washington Thursday night. It appears to me that both DeLoach and Hanning are doing an effective job.

✓ *W* *mm*



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: September 18, 1956

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to the enclosed memoranda from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated May 10, 1956, and from Mr. A. H. Belmont to Mr. L. V. Boardman dated September 13, 1956, which carries the Director's question: "Did we find any slanting of material in these pamphlets?"

The answer to the Director's question is no. No slanting of material has been observed in these pamphlets which take a simple but strong stand against all phases of communism. These pamphlets could be more scholarly and more effectively written but, keeping in mind that they are prepared for the average soldier, it is likely that they are adequate for this purpose.

It is probable that The Fund for the Republic, Inc., distributed some of this material in order to offset the just criticism which has been delivered against The Fund for the Republic for distributing much biased, prejudiced, and slanted propaganda which aids the communist movement.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to the Director for his information.

## Enclosures

WCS:mjh/frb

(6)

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - P. C. Young
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Nichols

RECORDED - 94

EX-100

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-8-89 BY 208557108

100-391697-423

11 SEP 24 1956

SEP 28 1956

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: September 6, 1956

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-0)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~

~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~

~~OTHERWISE~~

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

SF 613-S\* advised on 8/30/56 that on that date an individual identifying himself as [redacted] contacted WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN, Chairman, District 13 Communist Party (CP), at San Francisco CP Headquarters. This individual told SCHNEIDERMAN that he is writing a book with several other persons and that he is working on the labor aspects and that he is interested in the effect communism has had on labor and the American way of life. (U)

There was a reference to "Fund for Republic" which SF 613-S\* was unable to put in context. [redacted] indicated he desired to talk to SCHNEIDERMAN as soon as possible since he has to return to New York since he teaches at the City College in New York. (U)

According to SF 613-S\* an interview was arranged for 8/31/56. (U)

SF 1425-S\* advised on 8/31/56 that on that date a [redacted] entered CP Headquarters and was greeted by SCHNEIDERMAN's stating "I've just been reading some rather harsh things you have written about us." (U)

SF 1425-S\* was frequently unable to obtain [redacted] comments, but [redacted] indicated that the study he was working on was assigned to a professor of [redacted]

RECORDED (U) 74

INDEXED 74

100-391697-424

- 2- Bureau (REG)
- 1- New York (REG)
- 1- SF (ILWU) (100-6258)
- 1- SF (100-0)

WWR/lps S-1  
(5)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2 1956

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SF (100-0)  
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

9/6/56

During this interview, SCHNEIDERMAN suggested as a source for material a woman in New York whose name appears to be [redacted] (PH), a writer for the "New World Review." SCHNEIDERMAN indicated this person came to San Francisco and obtained a wealth of excellent material. (S) (U)

According to SF 1425-S\*, SCHNEIDERMAN asked [redacted] if he had been down to a union (not identified) and asked further if anyone was helping him. To this [redacted] replied in the affirmative. (S) (U)

According to the informant, [redacted] asked questions that were not at all audible and SCHNEIDERMAN's answers appeared to be quite general. (S) (U)

This letter is being forwarded the Bureau and New York since it appears that [redacted] may have been collecting data as a result of a grant from the captioned organization. (S) (U)

The following observations appear to be of interest and may possibly at some future time identify the results of this interview.

SCHNEIDERMAN observed that the left wing made a big mistake in trying to lead the membership of unions against the Marshall Plan. He continued that it was his opinion that this activity was one of the major reasons for the left wing unions being expelled from the CIO. [redacted] expressed the opinion that the CP did not interfere nearly as much in labor questions as they did in political issues. (Apparently within the framework of various unions). (S) (U)

SCHNEIDERMAN responded to that observation by saying that it was the party's theory that the members needed to know more about political affairs in order to run a union better. (S) (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SF (100-0)  
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

According to the informant, SCHNEIDERMAN referred to a "brief" in an effort to prove that the CP did not always advocate strikes. ~~(S)~~ (U)

During this interview, SCHNEIDERMAN related as an illustration of cooperation between union officials and the CP, that JACK TENNEY, then in the musicians union, used to meet regularly with the CP. According to SCHNEIDERMAN, TENNEY desired to introduce a resolution to support the struggle in Spain. SCHNEIDERMAN stated that he personally advised TENNEY against such a resolution, but that TENNEY got into trouble with his union (because of the resolution) and eventually became anti-communist and later became Chairman of the California Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. ~~(S)~~ (U)

In connection with the waterfront situation, SCHNEIDERMAN related that there has been a basic change in the attitude of ship owners. According to SCHNEIDERMAN, the ship owners had quit fighting among themselves and have tried to break down the union (ILWU?) and when they could not succeed they then tried to get along with the union. SCHNEIDERMAN expressed an opinion to the effect that unions should solve problems inherent in unions and it is not appropriate for union people to sit down with the employer in an effort to solve the employer's problems also. ~~(S)~~ (U)

At that time SCHNEIDERMAN commented that (HARRY) LUNDEBERG was adroit at playing one employer against another and one employer against rival unions. SCHNEIDERMAN mentioned that the CP never followed such tactics. ~~(S)~~ (U)

According to the informant, although no union was named, SCHNEIDERMAN in an obvious reference to the ILWU, expressed approval of a move to get in with the East Coast longshoremens. ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SF (100-0)  
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING

In answer to an inaudible question, SCHNEIDERMAN remarked that the ILWU is too small a group compared to the teamsters and that affiliation with the AF of L would retard reactionary influence in the teamsters. He remarked that there is not any CP position on the point, but it is his personal opinion that the party should oppose anything involving or allowing jurisdictional disputes. He stated "I don't think it would be disastrous if the ILWU goes into the teamsters."

~~(S)~~ (U)

Mr. Nichols

September 6, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
RADIO BROADCAST  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1956

Mr. Lewis, in his broadcast this evening, made brief mention of the Fund for the Republic. He stated that Mr. Paul Hoffman made a speech today in which he defended Robert Hutchins, Head of the Fund. Hoffman, according to Lewis, stated that Hutchins was honest, but unfortunately had difficulty in communicating his full ideas to others. Lewis ridiculed Hoffman's statement, saying that Hutchins had a long career as a university official and always had been able to talk at will on practically anything. Lewis added that at a previous dinner in Washington, Hoffman had a different version, namely that he indicated that he agreed with everything Hutchins stood for--the only difference being that Hutchins had the courage of his convictions while Hoffman did not.

Lewis indicated that Hoffman had commented concerning the proposed investigation of the Fund for the Republic by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Lewis quoted Hoffman as saying that he (Hoffman) would like to testify but that to date Representative Walters had not given him the opportunity. Lewis ridiculed this idea saying that this chance would come later.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Fund for the Republic (100-391697)

FCS:sak  
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-3-89 BY 8881513/08

100-391697-✓  
NOT RECORDED  
117 9-13 1956

60 SEP 14 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-391697-4

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: September 17, 1956

FROM : R. R. ROACH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The San Francisco Division by letter dated 9/6/56 has advised that according to a technical surveillance on the Communist Party Headquarters at San Francisco, California, one [redacted] City College of New York, New York City, on 8/30/56 contacted William Schneiderman, Chairman, District 13 Communist Party, San Francisco, and said he was working on a book relative to the effect communism has had on labor. This was in connection with his study concerning the effect of communism on the American way of life. An interview was arranged for the following day. (U)

On 8/31/56 [redacted] again appeared at the office of Schneiderman regarding the above matter. The conversation recorded, for the most part, was inaudible. It, however, related to a general discussion regarding the above-mentioned book [redacted]. No significant statements were noted other than the fact that Schneiderman had criticized [redacted] for his critical writing in the past, presumably against the Communist Party (U) (U) (U)

[redacted] appears to be identical with [redacted] who according to Bufiles [redacted] project to study the communist influence in American life under a \$300,000 grant made by the Fund in November, 1953. Our files contain no additional pertinent information concerning [redacted] (100-391697-70, 281 encl. p. 89)

## ACTION:

None. For information.

ROY:men:clr

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Lenz (Room 1513)
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

Classified by [redacted]  
Declassify on: OADR

RECORDED-74

INDEXED-74 11 SEP 27 1956

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2 - orig & 1  
1 - yellow  
1 - Section  
1 - Mr. Young

100-391697-425

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RECORDED-74

Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

September 19, 1956

[REDACTED]  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Declassify on: OADR

The San Francisco Division of this Bureau has advised that according to a highly confidential informant, who is in a position to furnish reliable information, one [REDACTED] City College of New York, New York City, on August 30, 1956, contacted William Schneiderman, Chairman, District 13 Communist Party (CP), at San Francisco CP Headquarters. [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] relative to the effects of communism on labor in conjunction with a study concerning the effect of communism on the American way of life. An interview was arranged for the following day. Tesur, SF 613-S) (U)

According to the informant, [REDACTED] appeared at the office of Schneiderman on August 31, 1956, regarding the above matter. Informant stated that there followed a general discussion regarding the above-mentioned book [REDACTED]. However, at the outset of the conversation, [REDACTED] was greeted by Schneiderman who stated, "I've just been reading some rather harsh things you have written about us." The Fund for the Republic was also mentioned during their conversation, although the significance of the Fund's connection was not clarified. (U)

It is noted that [REDACTED] may be identical with [REDACTED] who, according to our files, [REDACTED] project to study the communist influence in American life under a \$300,000 grant made by the Fund for the Republic in November, 1953. Our files contain no additional pertinent information concerning [REDACTED] (100-391697-70, 281 enclosure pg. 89)

The informant further related that during their conversation, Schneiderman observed that the "left-wing" made a big mistake in trying to lead the membership of unions against the Marshall Plan. Schneiderman continued that it was his opinion that this activity was one of the major reasons for the "left-wing" unions' being expelled from the CIO. [REDACTED] expressed the (U)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

Per:clr  
100-391697

Note on yellow pg. 3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

### Letter to The Attorney General

opinion that the CP did not interfere nearly as much in labor questions as they did in political issues (apparently within the framework of various unions). Schneiderman responded to that observation by saying that it was the Party's theory that the members needed to know more about political affairs in order to run a better union. Schneiderman also referred to a "brief" (not further identified) in an effort to prove that the CP did not always advocate strikes. (S) (U)

During this interview, Schneiderman related as an illustration of cooperation between union officials and the CP, that Jack Tenney, then in the musicians union, used to meet regularly with the CP. According to Schneiderman, Tenney desired to introduce a resolution to support the struggle in Spain. Schneiderman stated that he personally advised Tenney against such a resolution, but that Tenney got into trouble with his union (because of the resolution) and eventually became anticommunist and later became Chairman of the California Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. (S) (U)

In connection with the waterfront situation, Schneiderman related that there has been a basic change in the attitude of ship owners. According to Schneiderman, the ship owners had quit fighting among themselves and have tried to break down the union, not identified but possibly the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), and when they could not succeed, they then tried to get along with the union. Schneiderman expressed an opinion to the effect that the unions should solve problems inherent in unions and it is not appropriate for union people to sit down with the employer in an effort to solve the employer's problems also. (S) (U)

According to the informant, although no union was named, Schneiderman, in an obvious reference to the ILWU, expressed approval of a move to get in with the east coast longshoremen. Schneiderman remarked that the ILWU is too small a group compared to the teamsters and that affiliation with the American Federation of Labor would retard reactionary influence in the teamsters. He remarked that there is no CP position on that point, but it is his personal opinion that the Party should oppose anything involving or allowing jurisdictional disputes. He stated, "I don't think it would be disastrous if the ILWU goes into the teamsters." (S) (U)

[TESUR, SF 1425-S, 100-391697] (U)

- 1 - Mr. William P. Rogers  
Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Assistant Attorney General  
William F. Tompkins

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Letter to The Attorney General*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Note on yellow: The above information was furnished to the Bureau by San Francisco letter 9/6/56, captioned "Fund for the Republic, Miscellaneous - Information Concerning", Bufile 100-391697.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office

UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 10-1-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Tolson ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Boardman ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mason ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Parsons ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tamm ☒  
Nease ☒  
Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holloman ☒  
Gandy ☒

88889  
3885-1088  
#268 895  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/97 BY SP8 BTJ/STJ

[redacted] New York Herald Tribune advised me in confidence on the evening of September 26 that Paul Hoffman had recently been in touch with Brownie Reid and was complaining about the tactics of Congressman Walter in investigating the Fund for the Republic and wanted Brownie to have a newspaper expose made of this. He stated that Reid personally called to tell him about this matter and asked that he check into the situation to see what was being done. Reid did not ask for any story to be written. Reid further told [redacted] that Paul Hoffman had suggested that they plant a dummy at a White House press conference along the lines as to whether Congressman Walter was devoting too much time and energy to investigating the Fund for the Republic. This Reid flatly refused to do and [redacted] of course, agreed that this was a proper procedure.

Brownie called me on the afternoon of September 26. This was the first time I had heard from him since I took him to task prior to the Javits editorials. He stated that he was very much worried about the political situation in New York. I told him he had a right to be worried. He then stated that volunteers who called at Republican headquarters and wanted to work were even being turned away. I told him I was frankly surprised that they would have any volunteers after the manner in which they crammed Javits down everyone's throats. Brownie stated he understood, the thing made him sick and he simply could not get the help he needed in Washington after he had gotten out on a limb as far as he did in fighting Javits. I told him I did not want to be harping on the subject but that he would live to regret the day that he let the paper get in the position that it did, and he again told me that he simply was in no position to buck it and that the next time he saw me he would tell me about a few additional things which would perhaps make me a little more understanding. I told him that I thought I understood but that I was simply disappointed beyond all description. He got rather upset over this and I told him that I would be glad to hear anything else he had to say when we could get together.

I then inquired whether he had any pressure from the Fund for the Republic and he told me that he had, that he would also tell me about this in detail when he saw me but that he had not fallen for it, that he had merely asked the boys to find out the facts. I told him if he went overboard on this one coming on the heels of the Javits matter that he really would be hurt.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont

60 OCT 8 1956  
LBN:nl (4)

EX-117 INDEXED - 78

100-391697-486  
OCT 4 1956

b6  
b7C  
b7D

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

October 5, 1956

EX-117

Professor David A. Shannon  
106 Morningside Drive  
New York 27, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY 288517/af

Dear Professor Shannon:

The letter dated September 28, 1956, with enclosure,  
which you wrote to Mr. L. B. Nichols has been brought to my  
attention.

Although I would like to be of assistance, I feel sure  
you will appreciate the situation which prevents me from doing so  
when it is explained. The FBI is strictly a fact-gathering agency,  
and we are not empowered to divulge information from our files since  
they are confidential and available for official use only.

The rules governing this phase of our operations are  
not flexible, of course, and this situation precludes me from  
complying with your request.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

RECEIVED  
OCT 8 1956  
FBI

cc - Mr. Belmont (act)

10-5-56

NOTE: Bufile 100-891697 reflects that an article from the 1/31/55  
issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, set  
forth information that the Ford Fund for the Republic, Inc., was in  
the process of publishing eleven books dealing with the general subject  
of "communism and civil liberties" in the U. S. Professor David A.  
Shannon of Columbia University was named as the author of one of  
the proposed books. On 3/16/56, David A. Shannon, on the stationery  
of the Ford Fund for the Republic, Inc., informed the Bureau that he  
was writing a history of the Communist Party and advised he was writing

(continued on next page)

CEM:jfm:mlo:mgo

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Cason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holman \_\_\_\_\_

Professor David A. Shannon

October 5, 1956

NOTE: (Continued) so that the FBI would not misinterpret what may appear to be questionable activities on his part while he was getting information. Bufile 62-60527 reflects that the Washington "Post and Times Herald" edition of 1/14/55 reported that the Ford Fund for the Republic, Inc., announced <sup>on that day</sup> that it had allocated \$250,000 for a factual study of the influence of communism on American life. David A. Shannon, Assistant Professor of History, Teacher's College, Columbia University, was one of the group selected to make the study.

54413

106 Morningside Drive  
New York 27, New York  
September 28, 1956

Mr. Louis Nichols  
Assistant to the Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-3-89 BY 8885131P

Dear Mr. Nichols:

I am engaged in writing a history of the Communist Party of the United States from the overthrow of Browder in the summer of 1945 through its sixteenth national convention, presently scheduled for next February. The book is part of the series being sponsored by the Fund For The Republic, Inc., and it is to be published by Harcourt, Brace.

In the course of my research I have run into several blind alleys in attempting to get information about the submerged part of the party. Could the Bureau be of help to me on these problems?

I understand fully that for reasons of security there is much information which the Bureau cannot and should not divulge. As an American citizen, I do not want the Bureau to tell me or anyone else anything that would jeopardize national security. On the other hand, I want my book to be as full and accurate as possible. I fear that unless I can describe as fully as consistent with internal security the party's underground activities, readers of the book may reach distorted conclusions. They may conclude from those parts of my book which are based upon the party's various publications, which of necessity are a major source for me, that a Communist is more a special type of blind fool than a danger to the American people.

I am enclosing a series of questions about the party. Would you please answer them as fully as is consistent with security? If you agree to answering the questions, could I quote or cite your letter as authority? Other questions may present themselves subsequently, and I would very much like to consult you again if necessary.

Sincerely yours,

*David A. Shannon*

David A. Shannon

RECORDED - 67  
EX-117

100-391697-427  
4. com

OCT 10 1956

10/5/56  
DAS/kjs

1. a) Have there been public allegations from any American police agency or a Congressional committee of the presence in the United States of a foreign representative of international Communism to the CPUSA since the Eisler case and testimony of Budenz about Manuilsky? If so, what?

b) Have there in fact, regardless of public allegations from responsible agencies, been such representatives?

c) Has there been some other method of instruction to the CPUSA?

d) Would I, in your opinion, be justified in saying the question of whether the CPUSA gets its understanding of Soviet desires from a direct representative or through reading of the Russian press, the Cominform press, and other newspapers is, in a real sense, an academic question? That the CPUSA never departs from support of the position that the USSR is obvious; how the party gets its information is important but not so important as the fact that it obtains it.

2. Have there been any cases made public of espionage committed since the end of World War II besides the Judin case and the atomic espionage cases, some of which involved espionage that continued after September, 1945? What do you tell me of such cases?

3. Can the Bureau furnish me with estimates of CPUSA membership for each year, 1945 to 1956 inclusive? I have estimates of some years from the general press and from published reports of the Director of the Bureau.

4. Can the Bureau furnish me any breakdowns of membership statistics such as by city or state, by race, religion?

5. Does the Bureau feel that the sworn circulation statistics of the party daily and weekly press, made each October, are not falsified?

6. Can the Bureau furnish me with estimates of the circulation for each year of party or close-to-party periodicals, and quarterlies, which are not required by law to publish circulation figures? Among such periodicals are Political The March of Labor, Masses & Mainstream, Jewish Life, Review (formerly Soviet Russia Today), Science & Social. Are there available regional breakdowns of the circulation of periodicals plus those that publish annual total circulation statements, such as the Daily Worker and The Worker?

7. How many FBI people have been revealed in the variety to have once been disguised in the party? Is there a list of these people available?

8. George Blake Charney testified in the recent Smith Act in New York City a little bit about how the party reorganized itself structurally to minimize the effect of police work within the party. Can you provide me further information on this subject, when it was done, the methods used, and how long it lasted. Charney testified the plan was abandoned in 1950. Is this true?

9. In 1951 Claire Neikind in The Reporter wrote an article about William Wiener and a party "underground business empire". Was her article valid reporting and can you furnish me further information?



9-19-56  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

36

TO:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Director	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nease, 5744
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tolson, 5744	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Gandy, 5633
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Boardman, 5736	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Holloman, 5633
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Belmont, 1742	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mohr, 5517	<input type="checkbox"/> Records Branch
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Parsons, 7621	<input type="checkbox"/> Pers. Records, 6631
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Rosen, 5706	<input type="checkbox"/> Reading Room, 5531
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tamm, 5256	<input type="checkbox"/> Mail Room, 5533
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Trotter, 4130 IB	<input type="checkbox"/> Teletype, 5644
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Sizoo, 1742	<input type="checkbox"/> Code Room, 4642
	<input type="checkbox"/> Mechanical, B-110
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nichols, 5640	<input type="checkbox"/> Supply Room, B-216
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. McGuire, 5642	<input type="checkbox"/> Tour Room, 5625
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wick, 5634	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. DeLoach, 5636	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Morgan, 5625	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Lurz
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Jones, 4136	<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs. Faber
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss McCord
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Waikart, 7204	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Rogers
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Eames, 7206	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Loper
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Wherry, 5537	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss Price

☐ See Me

☐ For Your Info

☐ For appropriate  
action

☐ Note & Return

L. B. Nichols  
Room 5640, Ext. 691

Mr. Nichols

October 8, 1956

M. A. Jones

LAURENT BROWN FRANTZ (100-20023)  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY 8805 Jaf

You requested that a memorandum be prepared briefly identifying Laurent Brown Frantz of California, whom you indicated may have been granted money by the Fund for the Republic to analyze the Director's recent statement for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Frantz is the subject of a Security Matter - C investigation of the San Francisco Office. This is a closed investigation, and the last investigative report was submitted in February, 1956.

In brief, the following is a digested synopsis of Frantz's background as reflected in his main file and recent references to him in other files: He was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in September, 1913; has attended the Universities of Tennessee, North Carolina, Duke, and California (at Berkeley). He has the A. B., LL. B., LL. M. and Bachelor of Library Science degrees.

Frantz reportedly became a member of the Communist Party in the latter 1930's and was identified as a party member until the latter 1940's. Although reliable informants have not placed him in the Party for the past several years, both he and his wife (who also was previously identified as a party member) have continued to associate with communists and have been active in the affairs of front groups. Paul Crouch, former Communist Party member, advised in 1964 that he knew Frantz to be a Communist Party member from 1936 through 1941. Ralph C. Clontz, Jr., an informant who testified at the Smith Act trial of Junius Scales in North Carolina in April, 1955, named Frantz as a communist at the trial; and news stories concerning the Scales' trial noted this fact. (100-11592-A, "Greensboro Daily News" 4/24/55; 100-20023-115)

In June, 1950, Frantz was interviewed by the Charlotte Office. He stated that he was not in sympathy with the program which involved an investigation of a man's political affiliations, and he gave this same answer when asked whether he was a member of the Communist Party. In 1950, while at the

cc's - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Belmont

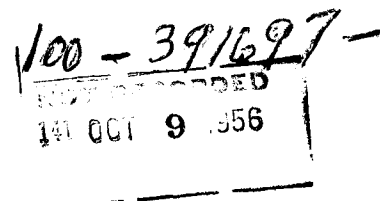
Mr. Nichols

Fund for the Republic file 100-391697

GWG:nma

(12)

71 OCT 11 1956



Memo to Mr. Nichols

October 8, 1956

University of California, Frantz was employed as a clerk in the law library. As a result of this employment, he was asked to sign a loyalty oath; however, he refused to do so, and his job was terminated.

Frantz became an apprentice seaman in the Navy in January, 1942, and was honorably discharged as a Yeoman Second Class in November, 1945. Subsequently, he became active in the South with the Civil Rights Congress. In addition to traveling throughout the South, he has lived in Iowa and California since his Naval discharge.

Frantz has been active in the National Lawyers Guild. In 1954 and 1955 he was reported to be self-employed in legal research in California, and his address in February, 1956, was 3044 Wheeler Street, Berkeley, California. (100-20023-149)

Frantz is said to be the attorney who wrote the Amicus Curiae brief in opposition to the Internal Security Act of 1950 which was signed by 360 persons and filed with the Supreme Court in September, 1955. (100-376056-53) He also has been the author of articles reflecting critically upon the Walter-McCarran Act (Immigration and Denaturalization) and defending protection of the Fifth Amendment.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

OCT 8 8 58 AM '56

- 2 -  
RECEIVED  
OCT 10 1956

4  
face, editor of Time and Life; Elliott V. Bell, editor of Business Week; and John J. Cavanaugh, director of the University of Notre Dame Foundation.

A CHANGING CLIMATE

Fortunately the climate of opinion is now more favorable to the cause of civil liberties than it was when the Fund for the Republic began its work in 1953. The eclipse of Senator McCarthy, the apologies by Government agencies to people wronged by mistake or prejudice, the changes in passport regula-

388720-58830

tions, the improved procedure in congressional investigations, are putting new heart in the belief that America does not have to suppress its liberties in order to protect them. But as long as the Fund continues to carry out the purpose for which it was created, as long as it supports the freedoms guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights where they are under threat or pressure, it will come in for its share of criticism and will face the attack with courage and confidence.

## *The Fund for the Republic*

Extension of Remarks of  
Hon. Richard Bolling  
of Missouri  
in the  
House of Representatives  
Wednesday, May 9, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-3-89 BY 888313128  
ENCLOSURE

Not printed  
at Government  
expense

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
21 OCT 8 1956

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1956

388720-58830

LIATSON

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 9, 1956

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the article which follows appeared in the March 5, 1956 issue of the Presbyterian Outlook, published in Richmond, Va. The author, Mr. Albert Fowler, a resident of Rosemont, Pa., was editor of the Arnold J. Toyne volume, War and Civilization, and has served on the faculty of Haverford College. Since the Fund for the Republic has been much criticized, on occasion, it seems to me that fair-minded people will welcome the opportunity to read this sympathetic treatment of its activities:

#### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (By Albert Fowler)

When the American Veterans' Committee presented Robert Hutchins with the Bill of Rights Award last October, he said: "I am surprised that there should be any difference of opinion about the Fund for the Republic." As president he was well aware that the Fund had been criticized for supposed left-wing tendencies by Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the New York Journal American, and as an American devoted to the preservation of his country's heritage of freedom he replied to that criticism with courage and confidence.

The Fund for the Republic was authorized in 1951 by the Ford Foundation and incorporated in 1952 as an independent organization, under a separate board of directors, chosen for their interest in civil liberties and their ability to increase public knowledge of these basic rights. The chairman is Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of Studebaker-Packard Corp. and other directors include Edwin N. Griswold, dean of Harvard Law School, Meyer Kestelbaum, president of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, and J. R. Parten, president of Woodley Petroleum Co.

Provided with \$15 million by the Ford Foundation, the Fund for the Republic has 386720-58830

devoted itself to the support of those liberties of thought, speech, and assembly without which this Nation would be unrecognizable.

#### POLICY OF PRIVATE GIFTS

Organizations like the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation have been regarded as the finest flower of free enterprise, and it has been the policy of the country to encourage people to finance religious and educational endeavor through private contributions rather than through taxes. If powerful pressures had not been exerted against our traditional freedoms, the Ford Foundation would not have seen a need for the Fund for the Republic which Dr. Hutchins calls a fund for the American dream. If the Fund takes the reason for its existence seriously and supports civil rights where they are threatened, it must inevitably expect a certain amount of criticism.

Early in 1953 the directors of the Fund declared in a public statement: "The major factor affecting civil liberties today, in our opinion, is the menace of communism and Communist influence in this country. Coupled with this threat is the grave danger to civil liberties in methods that may be used to meet the threat."

At its first meeting the board of directors made a grant to a special committee of the American Bar Association dealing with individual rights as affected by national security. This committee studied the methods of congressional investigations, and the bar association adopted its recommendations for rules of procedure by an overwhelming vote in August 1954. Since then the administration of congressional investigations has improved, and one reason for the improvement has been the influence of the American Bar Association. This change was not achieved without criticism from those who wanted a free hand to deal with the Communist menace in whatever way suited them best.

#### STUDIED THE COMMUNIST RECORD

To get the facts straight and make them available for ready reference the Fund for the Republic then financed a study of official records of Communist activity. Under the able leadership of Arthur Sutherland, of Harvard Law School, a digest was prepared

of the principal judicial and administrative hearings in which the Communist Party has been involved, and the completed volumes were distributed to university, research, and public libraries. Microfilm records of the leading court cases on Communist activities have been put in a few large libraries throughout the country. The Fund has also made a grant to the Methodist Church for a study of the challenge of communism.

In response to calls from many quarters for a private committee to make a dispassionate appraisal of the loyalty-security program of the Federal Government, the Fund for the Republic financed such a committee under the auspices of the New York City Bar Association. In appointing the members of this committee the bar association included lawyers from many parts of the country. The Fund believed that one good way to show how the loyalty-security program operated was to compile the facts of individual cases, and Adama Yarmolinsky of the District of Columbia Bar Association was asked to secure what records he could from the defending lawyers. His report contains abstracts of over 300 cases, and 50 of these have been published. The facts of this report throw much light on whether individual rights have been sacrificed to the demands of national security and whether those demands have been excessive.

#### FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION

One of the foundation stones of Americanism is the freedom of discussion. The Illinois Department of the American Legion and its past commander, Irving Breakstone, have cooperated with the American Heritage Council of Chicago on a plan of popular education centering around discussion of basic documents in United States history. The Fund for the Republic has made a grant to the council to assist this enterprise. It has also helped the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund with its Freedom Agenda project in which 500 communities are cooperating, and similar educational programs of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, the Universalist Service Committee, the YMCA and YWCA. The more people know about their individual liberties, the safer their freedom will be.

338720-58830

3

The Fund for the Republic has honored with substantial awards organizations and communities that have distinguished themselves by their defense of civil liberties. One award went to the YMCA at the University of California at Berkeley for its outstanding program in race relations and its open platform policy, and another to the town of Waverly, Iowa, for its efforts on behalf of a Negro Air Force captain and his family. In this way the Fund called the attention of the country to courageous and selfless devotion to the cause of freedom.

#### IN RACE RELATIONS

Individual rights have also been under pressure in the field of race relations, and it was natural for the Fund for the Republic to concern itself with racial discrimination. One of its largest grants went to the Southern Regional Council to strengthen the Atlanta headquarters and increase the professional staff of the council's affiliates in 12 Southern States. With this assistance the council is expanding community education in intergroup relations under the leadership of George S. Mitchell, who received the 1953 award of the Catholic Committee of the South for an outstanding contribution to the improvement of race relations. A recent grant to the Southern Presbyterian Church provides for local institutes for discussion of interracial problems and for the distribution of literature and visual aids. Similar assistance has been made available in this field to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church, to the Presbyterian Church, United States of America, and to the National Council of Churches in connection with problems growing out of the Supreme Court's decision holding segregated schools unconstitutional.

The Fund for the Republic has also established a commission on race and housing to examine the obstacles encountered by minority groups, particularly Negroes, in finding places to live and in building new homes. No comprehensive survey of housing for minorities has ever been made, but it is thought that they pay more and get less than other sections of the population. This commission is headed by Earl B. Schwus, chairman of the board of the Bovey Savings Bank, and among its members are Henry R.

# The Fund for the Republic

*The third number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-8-89 BY 00305108

## CONGRESSMAN WALTER INVESTIGATES

In a press statement of June 11, 1956, widely disseminated through the country, Representative Francis E. Walter, the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, said:

"Is this foundation (The Fund for the Republic), with its vast reservoirs of funds and power, a friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy? Are its extensive and diverse activities strengthening or weakening our security structure in the Communist cold war? Are the leaders of this force, who enjoy the benefit of tax immunity, serving an interest inimical to our basic American tradition? The Congress and the American people are entitled to know the answers to these questions."

The insinuations contained in this statement are false. The Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee has misled and is misleading the public as to the Fund's motives, objectives and record.

Purportedly in order to discover the "answers" to his questions about the Fund, he has held public hearings on two scattered aspects of the Fund's activities. In these he has denied the right of the Fund, its directors and officers to be heard or to cross-examine the hostile witnesses called against it. In the hearings and elsewhere, as in a recent letter to *The New York Times*, he has repeated insinuations that the directors and officers of the Fund are serving interests

inimical to the American tradition, that the Fund is a foe of the United States and that its activities are impairing the security of the country.

### The Fund and the Un-American Activities Committee

The Fund for the Republic is a non-profit educational corporation, established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation with grants totaling \$15,000,000. Its purpose, as defined at the time of its creation, is to eliminate restrictions on freedom of thought, to promote the principles of individual liberty and equal opportunity, and to further a wider understanding of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, the fundamental documents in which those principles of the American system are enshrined.

It has worked to these ends in a variety of ways. It has distributed books, pamphlets, films, reprints of notable speeches and articles. It makes outright grants to individuals and organizations to further studies and programs in the field of civil liberties. Its

100-391697

grantees include numerous church organizations, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, bar associations, law schools, universities and social service organizations. It sponsors research projects of its own, in each case selecting a director who is thereafter independently responsible for the assembly of staff, the conduct of the work and the conclusions arrived at.

As of May 31, 1956, the total expended or allocated by the Fund, excluding administrative expenses, was \$5,963,263. About a third of this has been devoted to educational work in race relations, both North and South; other large programs have gone into the study of domestic Communism and Communist infiltration; much has been expended on popular education in the significance of the Bill of Rights, while another area of the Fund's interest has been the study of various specific problems of civil liberties and due process, most of them arising out of the methods and procedures used in combating domestic Communism.

For the past year or more the Fund for the Republic has been under attack, most persistently by the radio commentator, Fulton Lewis, Jr. Ignoring the larger part of the Fund's operations, these attacks, usually factually inaccurate and often reaching the point of scurrility, have centered mainly upon the Fund's study of the Communist threat and the methods used to combat it.

On November 22, 1955, Mr. Lewis, who had repeatedly demanded an investigation of the Fund, informed his radio audiences that a complete investigation of the Fund would be immediately undertaken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that preliminary staff work was already under way, and that the inquiry would develop into full, open sessions after the first of the year.

This information was confirmed in a press release by Chairman Walter. Bethuel M. Webster, counsel for the Fund, at once made efforts to see Mr. Walter, but was unable to obtain an appointment until March 5, three and a half months later. When Mr. Walter finally agreed to see the Fund's counsel, his main concern seemed to be to find out whether the Fund had been financing attacks upon the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, of which he was co-author. (It had not been.) Since he gave no other explanation for the inquiry, Mr. Walter left counsel under the impression that his sensitivity in the matter of this controversial measure was the main reason for his hostility to the Fund.

At the end of the March 5 interview Mr. Walter handed counsel a letter calling for the production of a mass of information and documentation relating to all aspects of the Fund's activities. The data called

for were delivered to the Committee on April 4. Subsequently Mr. Walter and members of his staff requested additional information, most of which has been supplied. In early February a Committee investigator, Karl Baarslag, a former employee of the McCarthy committee and the Americanism Commission of the American Legion, had inquired into activities of the Fund at its West Coast office. He was referred to the Fund's counsel in New York. Later he was offered permission to examine all minutes of the Fund; he has not availed himself of this. Another investigator for the Committee, Mrs. Dolores Scotti, was permitted to question a Fund employee at the office of counsel and given the documents which she requested.

## Hearings Are Announced

This was the position when the Fund was abruptly informed, neither by letter nor by official notice but by Mr. Walter's press statement of June 11, that the Committee would begin hearings on June 27 to determine whether the Fund was a "friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy." Mr. Walter added that he was not at that time passing judgment on the Fund—a curious disclaimer, since the hearings on which Committee judgments are supposedly based had not yet taken place—but was seeking only "objective facts."

A letter dated June 7, addressed by Mr. Walter to Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund, in California, reached Mr. Hutchins (who was in New York) on June 13. It stated that hearings would be held, without explaining how or for what purpose; it invited Mr. Hutchins to attend or send representatives but offered the Fund no opportunity to testify. Meanwhile, on the day the press statement appeared counsel for the Fund had reached the Committee's counsel, Richard Arens, by telephone, requesting the names of witnesses to be called, an opportunity to cross-examine and, if necessary, to introduce witnesses for the Fund. Mr. Arens said that he would supply the names of witnesses in advance, but that cross-examination would not be allowed. He said also that the Fund would be given an opportunity to offer evidence later, but he indicated that the hearing might be adjourned after the Committee witnesses had been heard.

The promised list of witnesses had not been received by June 15. On that day Mr. Hutchins wrote

# The New York Times

ESTABLISHED 1851 REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.  
"All the News That's Fit to Print"  
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935

Published Every Day in the Year by  
THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER  
President and Publisher

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS  
Vice President

AMORY H. BRADFORD  
Secretary

FRANCIS A. COX  
Treasurer

## HIT AND RUN

It is time that Representative Francis E. Walter and his House Un-American Activities Committee were called up short for the arrogant, hit-and-run tactics they have pursued in their latest "investigation," which happens to have been directed against the Fund for the Republic.

Representative Walter, legislative partner and spiritual disciple of the late Senator McCarran, announced early in June that he was about to open long-planned hearings to "seek the objective facts" regarding the Fund. In his initial statement he displayed such bias against the Fund—which the Ford Foundation had established in 1952 as a separate entity to defend and promote individual freedom and civil liberties under the Constitution—as to raise serious doubts about his objectivity

and the real purposes of his inquiry. Subsequent events have confirmed those doubts.

Although he suddenly postponed the hearings on the Fund itself, Mr. Walter soon held two sets of public sessions directly affecting its activities. One of these, on which we have previously commented, was the inquiry into the Fund-financed report by John Cogley on blacklisting in the entertainment industry. The other was an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the Fund's award of \$500 last year to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends for hiring and refusing to dismiss a librarian after she had pleaded the Fifth Amendment.

In both these cases the tactics employed by the Walter committee and its counsel, Richard Arens, were deplorable. Most of the questions were directed to the content of Mr. Cogley's book, bringing the committee close to violating the First Amendment, a point highlighted by Mr. Walter, who stated to the witness: "We called you for the purpose of ascertaining what your sources were in order to determine whether or not your conclusions were the conclusions that we would have reached had we embarked on this sort of project." That statement speaks for itself.

The Philadelphia hearings came so close to violating freedom of religion, among other things, that nine leading Philadelphia Quakers were moved to state that "we regard such inquiries as a serious transgression upon the complete division between church and state,

which is one of the important foundations of our democracy." They said that what took place at the hearings "was a travesty upon the word 'investigation' and a mockery of the idea of inquiry \* \* \* an organized attempt to present selected facts in the light most discreditable to the Fund for the Republic."

At neither of these sets of hearings was any officer or director of the Fund for the Republic asked to testify in defense or explanation of the subject under inquiry, although it is perfectly obvious that the Fund itself is the ultimate object of attack. At the Philadelphia hearings, Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, a director of the Fund and chairman of its special awards committee, vainly flew from Mexico in order to testify, correctly noting that "the actions of the Fund for the Republic are the decisions of its Board of Directors" and the members of the board ought to be given the opportunity to speak for it.

This newspaper has no desire or intention of defending every action of the Fund for the Republic. What we defend is the right of the Fund to carry on its proper activities without Congressional harassment. What we insist upon is the duty of the Congressional committees that take it on themselves to investigate this or any other foundation to behave in a judicial and fair-minded manner. What we object to are such sorry sniping expeditions as have just been conducted by Mr. Walter, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

## The American Traditions Prizes

The Fund for the Republic has established an American Traditions Project "to dramatize incidents illustrating how the good sense of Americans has prevailed in our daily lives, particularly in conflicts or disputes which may never have reached the headlines." To this end the Project offers \$10,000 in prizes for letters reporting "true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and to follow the dictates of conscience, or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations, in the face of considerations of 'expediency.'"

Thirteen prizes are offered, from a first prize of \$2,500 down to ten of \$100 each; in addition, an amount equal to each prize will be donated to any tax-exempt charitable, educational or religious organization designated by

the winner. The letters are to be of not more than 1000 words. Further details will be announced later.] Among examples suggested by the Project of the kind of material desired are stories of someone who saw to it that a man charged with crime got a fair trial in face of public prejudice; someone who prevented Communists from taking over an organization by their unfair and un-American techniques; some school teacher or trustee who refused to let outside pressure groups interfere with free thought and discussion; some union man who defended an employer unjustly accused or business man who defended a union organizer's rights. The Project seeks stories "which show the American tradition in action" and exemplify "those principles of fairness and moderation" on which that tradition is based.



August 29. Mrs. Stevenson declined through Counsel on the ground that at this late date to testify on a single action of the Fund could serve no useful purpose. Counsel reiterated the Fund's desire for a full and impartial hearing.

## The Fund Protests

Mr. Hutchins protested against the character of the hearings in a letter to Chairman Walter and other members of the Un-American Activities Committee of July 13. He declared that the Committee's methods were grossly unfair. The public was being misled by statements about the Fund, made by the Committee Chairman and counsel as well as by hostile witnesses, to which the Fund had no opportunity to reply at the time the charges were being made. In thus seeking "equal time" at all hearings for Fund witnesses, Mr. Hutchins stressed the duty of the Committee to permit both sides of any issue involving the Fund to be presented at the same hearing. For the third time Mr. Hutchins asked for a hearing in which the Fund for the Republic could present evidence and cross-examine witnesses.

Mr. Walter commented on this letter during the blacklisting hearings. He said that he had personally assured a member of the Fund's Board of Directors that the Fund's witnesses would be heard, but that the present hearings were not on the Fund itself and such witnesses would not be heard at this time. Later in the hearings he repeated this assurance but with an extraordinary modification: "I repeat with all the force of my command that if it ever becomes material to the issue, they [The Fund] will be extended an invitation to present testimony." On July 20 the Chairman wrote Mr. Hutchins affirming that "at the appropriate time" representatives of the Fund "will be heard by the Committee" but adding that "the examination of witnesses by a Congressional Committee has always been the exclusive prerogative of the Committee and its counsel."

Another chapter was added on August 6. On that evening Fulton Lewis, Jr., read his radio audience a handwritten letter from Mrs. Stevenson to an officer of the Fund. The letter was dated March 14, 1956, and concerned the award to Plymouth Meeting. The Fund's files about this subject had been subpoenaed by Mr. Walter and were in his possession.

The following wire was thereupon sent to Mr. Walter on August 7 by Mr. Webster:

"IT IS AN INEXCUSABLE VIOLATION OF THE INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO A RADIO COMMENTATOR DOCUMENTS OBTAINED UNDER SUBPOENA FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC THAT WERE NEVER MADE A PART OF THE RECORD. THE FUND CANNOT BE HARMED BY YOUR IRRESPONSIBLE USE OF THIS MATERIAL, BUT THE PRESTIGE OF CONGRESS CANNOT FAIL TO BE DAMAGED BY THIS ABUSE OF THE POWERS LODGED IN YOU. THIS IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE HIT AND RUN TACTICS PURSUED BY YOU AND MR. ARENS IN YOUR DEALINGS WITH THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC."

In the long train of abuses to which the Fund was subjected, another example was Mr. Walter's letter to *The New York Times*, published on August 10. In this he declared that the testimony in regard to John Cogley's report on blacklisting had established only that a number of "hard-core members of the Communist conspiracy" had been denied employment in the entertainment industries. He also said that the Plymouth Quaker Meeting had "at no time evidenced a sympathy with the employment of Mary Knowles"; and that the Fund attempted to "foist an award upon unwilling recipients for an alleged position which the recipients did not take." All of these statements are false, as shown by the letter of George N. Shuster, Vice-Chairman of the Board, published in *The New York Times* on August 17.

## Conclusion

The Fund has cooperated fully with Mr. Walter and his representatives. It seems apparent that Mr. Walter's intention is to deny the Fund a hearing or delay one until it is too late to counteract the widespread circulation of these unfounded accusations. He has engaged in a deliberate scheme to discredit the Fund for the Republic and its objectives in the eyes of the American people.

The public is entitled to know that Mr. Walter's charges and insinuations are false. They would have been proved false if the Fund for the Republic had been given the full hearing demanded by the American tradition of fair play, due process and common decency.

### Public Information Committee

ELMO ROPER, Chairman    CHESTER BOWLES    CHARLES W. COLE  
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II    JUBAL R. PARTEN    GEORGE N. SHUSTER

August 23, 1956

Mr. Walter that he and other members and directors of the Fund would be present at the hearings. He requested equal time, on each day of the hearings, to present witnesses of the Fund's selection, including members of its Board and representatives of its grantees. It would thus be possible to present the "objective facts" that Mr. Walter said that he was seeking. Mr. Hutchins observed that hearings in which ignorant or hostile witnesses were heard without immediate opportunity for explanation by those in possession of the facts would be unfair; that misunderstandings and misinformation could be circulated over the country before the Fund had a chance to reply, and that recesses and adjournments would compound the injustice.

No reply was received.

Instead, at the last moment the Fund was informed—again only through the press—that the hearing scheduled for June 27 had been indefinitely postponed. The reason given was to permit the staff of the Committee to examine "certain additional facets" of Fund activities. Hearings would be held after "full exploration of new areas," although there had already been seven months of staff investigation, and the Fund had already supplied the data, information and documents requested. Thus, after leveling most serious accusations against the Fund and obtaining the maximum publicity for them, the Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee ended any possibility of their being answered, or even weighed by the Un-American Activities Committee itself.

### New Tactics Adopted

In adjourning his general investigation of the Fund, however, Mr. Walter did not abandon his attempts to discredit it. A new approach was now adopted. This was to inquire, in a piecemeal way, into specific Fund projects. In the spring the Fund had been completing for publication a report by John Cogley, embodying the results of research into blacklisting in the entertainment industries. The Committee's investigators and its counsel, Mr. Arens, had shown great interest in this report, and the first finished copy had been supplied to Mr. Arens on June 21, as soon as it became available. The report was released for publication on June 25 and immediately came under the usual violent and ill-informed attack from Fulton Lewis, Jr. and other sources that had long manifested their animosity to the Fund. Shortly thereafter its

author, Mr. Cogley, was subpoenaed—not invited, as would be normal under the circumstances—to appear at an executive hearing of the Committee.

An action of the Fund that had long been under attack was its special award, voted in May 1955, to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting because of its support of its Library Committee in refusing, on conscientious grounds, to dismiss a librarian who had declined years before her employment to testify to past associations before a Congressional committee. Shortly after issuing its subpoena to Mr. Cogley, the Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed Maureen Black Ogden, a Fund employee, who had made a report to it on the Plymouth Meeting matter.

The Committee gave no indication that any responsible officer or director of the Fund would be invited or allowed to appear in regard to either of these matters. The Fund objected to these new tactics. In a letter of July 10 to Mr. Walter, Mr. Hutchins expressed the Fund's continued indignation over Mr. Walter's insinuations in his June 11 press statement; he demanded that Mr. Walter declare that the Committee had become convinced of the integrity and patriotism of the Fund or give it the full and impartial hearing that it had asked.

No reply was received.

The Committee investigated the blacklisting report at hearings on July 10-13.

Mr. Cogley learned only as he was entering the committee room that the hearings were not to be in executive session, but were to be open. The press was already on hand. This matter was concluded and the Plymouth Meeting award investigated at a one-day hearing in Philadelphia on July 18. Both hearings followed a similar pattern. Mr. Cogley, in the one case, and Mrs. Ogden in the other were heard first; after subjecting each to hostile cross-examination, the Committee counsel called a succession of unfriendly witnesses, who were critical of the Fund in general and of these two projects in particular. Despite repeated requests by its counsel, the Fund was given no opportunity to be heard. Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, who—as a director of the Fund and chairman of the Board committee that recommended the Plymouth Meeting award—was best qualified to testify as to the Fund's action in this case, flew from a vacation in Mexico to the Philadelphia hearing in an effort to refute the charges about this award as they were being made. She was not permitted to testify. Mrs. Stevenson returned to Mexico later that day after issuing a statement.

On August 21 Mr. Arens telephoned Mrs. Stevenson offering her an "opportunity" to be heard on

## Printed Materials

Copies of the following are available in limited numbers on request to the Fund for the Republic:

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Report, May 31, 1955.

Three-Year Report, May 31, 1956.

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Bulletin, May 1956, "Civil Liberties and Race Relations."

Bulletin, June 1956, "Civil Liberties: A Three-Year Effort."

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Facts No. 1 ("Aims and Organization").

Facts No. 2 ("Three-Part Study: The Communist Record in the United States").

Facts No. 3 ("Grants to Religious Organizations").

Facts No. 4 ("Freedom Agenda").

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Article by Albert Fowler from *The Presbyterian Outlook*, reprinted from the *Congressional Record*.

### THE BILL OF RIGHTS YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

Talk by Robert M. Hutchins.

### PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE, THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Address by Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, at the anniversary celebration in Williamsburg, Va., of the Virginia Declaration of Rights (the text of which is included in the pamphlet).

### THE ANGRY SOUTH

Article by Ralph McGill, reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly*.

### WHO'S ON FIRST?

Public Affairs Pamphlet on discrimination by Jack Mabley, sports columnist of the *Chicago Daily News*.

### FREEDOM OF INQUIRY VS. AUTHORITY. SOME LEGAL ASPECTS

Lecture by Joseph O'Meara, Dean, Notre Dame Law School.

### THE HIGH COST OF SECRECY TO SCIENCE

Statement by Gerard Piel, editor of *Scientific American*, reprinted from the *Wall Street Journal*.

### SOCIAL SCIENCE AND FREEDOM

Pamphlet of radio lectures under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center, University of Minnesota.

### WHO ARE COMMUNISTS AND WHY?

Pamphlet No. 6 in the series "Know Your Communist Enemy," issued by the Department of Defense.

## The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

60 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Chairman: PAUL G. HOFFMAN  
Former Chairman of the Board  
Studebaker-Packard Corp.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Vice-Chairman: GEORGE N. SHUSTER  
President, Hunter College  
New York, N. Y.

CHESTER BOWLES  
Essex, Conn.

CHARLES W. COLE  
President, Amherst College  
Amherst, Mass.

RUSSELL L. DEARMONT  
Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railroad  
St. Louis, Mo.

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD  
Dean, Law School of Harvard University  
Cambridge, Mass.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II  
New York, N. Y.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS  
President  
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

WILLIAM H. JOYCE, JR.  
Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.  
Pasadena, Calif.

MEYER KESTENBAUM  
President, Hart Schaffner & Marx  
Chicago, Ill.

ROGER D. LAPHAM  
San Francisco, Calif.

M. ALBERT LINTON  
Chairman of the Board  
Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

J. EDWARD MARSHALL  
Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.  
Fort Worth, Tex.

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN  
Attorney, Covington & Burling  
Washington, D. C.

RUBAL R. PARTEN  
President, Woodley Petroleum Co.  
Houston, Tex.

ELMO ROPER  
Elmo Roper & Associates  
New York, N. Y.

MRS. ELEANOR B. STEVENSON  
Oberlin, Ohio

JAMES D. ZELLERBACH  
President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.  
San Francisco, Calif.

Additional copies of this  
Bulletin are available on request

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 19, 1956.

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: LAURENT BROWN FRANTZ  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-3-89 BY 25257JEP

Tolson  
Nichols  
Boardman  
Belmont  
Ladd  
Malone  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Nease  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman

Reference is made to my memorandum of October 16, 1956, advising that [REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

Referral/Consult

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

JRB:JLJ (6)  
- Mr. Nichols  
- Mr. Belmont  
- Mr. Boardman  
- Mr. Ladd  
- Mr. Mohr  
- Mr. Parsons  
- Mr. Rosen  
- Mr. Tamm  
- Mr. Nease  
- Mr. Winterrowd  
- Mr. Tele. Room  
- Mr. Holloman

OCT 26 1956

NOT RECORDED  
170 OCT 25 1956

OCT 24 1956

20007

Mr. Nichols

October 15, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
 RADIO BROADCAST  
 7:00 P.M., 10/12/56

Mr. Lewis, in his broadcast on 10/12/56, again discussed the article by Paul Hoffman currently appearing in Colliers magazine. He stated the matter was being criticized by Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Senator Schoeppel of Kansas. Lewis pointed out that Senator Schoeppel is presently chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee and that Senator Goldwater was chairman before Senator Schoeppel. Mr. Lewis continued that these are the men Fund for the Republic Paul Hoffman wants to weed out of the Republican Party.

Mr. Lewis continued that it would be interesting to know who wrote the article for Paul Hoffman because he was sure that Hoffman had not written it for himself. Mr. Lewis stated he suspected that the ghost was none other than his very left, very pink little shadow in the Fund for the Republic, W. H. Ferry.

Mr. Lewis added that this is just the sort of an article Ferry would write and contained just the things that he would say.

Mr. Lewis also stated that it might be very constructive for the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee to begin asking some questions. He continued that if his guess was right, it definitely ties the Fund for the Republic into political activity and would void its tax-exempt status. Mr. Lewis further stated that it is the height of impropriety for the Fund for the Republic to put forth this article. He continued that it was also the height of impropriety for Paul Hoffman to become engaged in any such general attack as he is in the article against the members of the very U. S. Senate which voted to confirm him. Mr. Lewis also suggested that perhaps Hoffman was attempting to smear or get revenge on those members who voted against him. He concluded his program by stating that it was a very unsavory business whatever the answer.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
 cc - Mr. Boardman  
 cc - Mr. Belmont  
 cc - Mr. Young, 1631  
 cc - 100-391697

WJH:lmh

61 OCT 16 1956

100-391697-  
 NOT RECORDED  
 199 OCT 16 1956

Mr. Nichols

October 11, 1

M. A. Jones

*FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC*

FULTON LEWIS, JR.  
RADIO BROADCAST  
7:00 P. M., 10/11/56

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-2-89 BY 2038(SJ)108

Mr. Lewis stated that in the current issue of *Colliers* magazine, there is an article by Paul G. Hoffman, Head of the Ford Fund for the Republic, and adds that the article is stupidly timed and ill-advised. Mr. Lewis stated that Mr. Hoffman, in this article entitled "How Eisenhower Saved the Republican Party" reported that President Eisenhower had completely reconstructed the Republican Party and had thrown out the previous leaders and the previous Republican conceptions and had revamped the Party along the lines believed by Hoffman to be an improvement. Mr. Lewis said this was little recommendation from one such as Hoffman. Hoffman described in the article a "splinter group" which consistently resisted the aims of the Republican Party. He named Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Walker of Idaho, Malone of Nevada, Dworshak of Idaho, Schoepfel of Kansas and Goldwater of Arizona. Hoffman suggested that these men are persona non grata in the Republican Party. Lewis said that while Hoffman did not mention Senators Knowland or Bridges, except by general implication, they were included.

Mr. Lewis criticized Hoffman's views concerning these Senators, who have been the foundation of the Republican Party for the last 30 years and on whom the President will have to depend for the passing of legislation if he is re-elected. Mr. Lewis added that this article will not sit well with the members of the Republican Party and added that it comes from a character who has been shoved down the throats of Americans by President Eisenhower when the President named him as a representative to the United Nations. Mr. Lewis said that Mr. Hoffman's statement has caused a major explosion in Republican circles. This commentator said that President Eisenhower was unhappily drawn into this situation today when he did not categorically deny Hoffman's statements and when in answer to a reporter's inquiry, he said that he could not look to the men named by Hoffman for assistance in passing legislation. Mr. Lewis said it is unfortunate that this has occurred when unity is so necessary in the Republican Party and at a time when the President has appointed an obscure Democrat to the Supreme Court.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Belmont  
cc - Mr. Young, 7631  
cc - 100-391697

CEM:cag

(7)

71 OCT 16 1956

100-391697-  
NOT RECORDED  
OCT 10 1956

Jones to Nichols memo

October 11, 1958

According to Mr. Lewis, the President seems to have forgotten that he was elected by Republicans who formed the very foundation of the Republican Party and who believed in him at a time before Paul Hoffman and the Ford Fund for the Republic took over the Republican Party and turned it into something new.

Mr. Lewis stated that Vice President Nixon handled the problem somewhat better by stating that he did not agree with the Paul Hoffman article and saying the Senators named should be persuaded to support the President, adding that there is room for difference of opinion in the Party.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*A* memo  
from

IRVING FERMAN

Dear Lou -

*I am -*

*in better y*  
*See d.*

*I*

Dear Lou -

I don't know whether you have seen this.

I. F.  
(Irving Ferman)

Compliments of LAW REPORTER PRINTING CO.

ENCLOSURE 15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-8-89 BY 208855008

100-391697-1428

INDEXED - 15

17 OCT 24 1956

00 OCT 25 1956

EX-120

CRIME/RECORDS



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-3-99 BY 2083/MS/09

BULLETIN • SEPTEMBER 1956

# The Fund for the Republic

*The third number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.*

## CONGRESSMAN WALTER INVESTIGATES

In a press statement of June 11, 1956, widely disseminated through the country, Representative Francis E. Walter, the Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, said:

"Is this foundation (The Fund for the Republic), with its vast reservoirs of funds and power, a friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy? Are its extensive and diverse activities strengthening or weakening our security structure in the Communist cold war? Are the leaders of this force, who enjoy the benefit of tax immunity, serving an interest inimical to our basic American tradition? The Congress and the American people are entitled to know the answers to these questions."

The insinuations contained in this statement are false. The Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee has misled and is misleading the public as to the Fund's motives, objectives and record.

Purportedly in order to discover the "answers" to his questions about the Fund, he has held public hearings on two scattered aspects of the Fund's activities. In these he has denied the right of the Fund, its directors and officers to be heard or to cross-examine the hostile witnesses called against it. In the hearings and elsewhere, as in a recent letter to *The New York Times*, he has repeated insinuations that the directors and officers of the Fund are serving interests

inimical to the American tradition, that the Fund is a foe of the United States and that its activities are impairing the security of the country.

### The Fund and the Un-American Activities Committee

The Fund for the Republic is a non-profit educational corporation, established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation with grants totaling \$15,000,000. Its purpose, as defined at the time of its creation, is to eliminate restrictions on freedom of thought, to promote the principles of individual liberty and equal opportunity, and to further a wider understanding of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, the fundamental documents in which those principles of the American system are enshrined.

It has worked to these ends in a variety of ways. It has distributed books, pamphlets, films, reprints of notable speeches and articles. It makes outright grants to individuals and organizations to further studies and programs in the field of civil liberties. Its

file 100-391697  
PCF

grantees include numerous church organizations, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, bar associations, law schools, universities and social service organizations. It sponsors research projects of its own, in each case selecting a director who is thereafter independently responsible for the assembly of staff, the conduct of the work and the conclusions arrived at.

As of May 31, 1956, the total expended or allocated by the Fund, excluding administrative expenses, was \$5,963,263. About a third of this has been devoted to educational work in race relations, both North and South; other large programs have gone into the study of domestic Communism and Communist infiltration; much has been expended on popular education in the significance of the Bill of Rights, while another area of the Fund's interest has been the study of various specific problems of civil liberties and due process, most of them arising out of the methods and procedures used in combating domestic Communism.

For the past year or more the Fund for the Republic has been under attack, most persistently by the radio commentator, Fulton Lewis, Jr. Ignoring the larger part of the Fund's operations, these attacks, usually factually inaccurate and often reaching the point of scurrility, have centered mainly upon the Fund's study of the Communist threat and the methods used to combat it.

On November 22, 1955, Mr. Lewis, who had repeatedly demanded an investigation of the Fund, informed his radio audiences that a complete investigation of the Fund would be immediately undertaken by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that preliminary staff work was already under way, and that the inquiry would develop into full, open sessions after the first of the year.

This information was confirmed in a press release by Chairman Walter. Bethuel M. Webster, counsel for the Fund, at once made efforts to see Mr. Walter, but was unable to obtain an appointment until March 5, three and a half months later. When Mr. Walter finally agreed to see the Fund's counsel, his main concern seemed to be to find out whether the Fund had been financing attacks upon the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, of which he was co-author. (It had not been.) Since he gave no other explanation for the inquiry, Mr. Walter left counsel under the impression that his sensitivity in the matter of this controversial measure was the main reason for his hostility to the Fund.

At the end of the March 5 interview Mr. Walter handed counsel a letter calling for the production of a mass of information and documentation relating to all aspects of the Fund's activities. The data called

for were delivered to the Committee on April 4. Subsequently Mr. Walter and members of his staff requested additional information, most of which has been supplied. In early February a Committee investigator, Karl Baarslag, a former employee of the McCarthy committee and the Americanism Commission of the American Legion, had inquired into activities of the Fund at its West Coast office. He was referred to the Fund's counsel in New York. Later he was offered permission to examine all minutes of the Fund; he has not availed himself of this. Another investigator for the Committee, Mrs. Dolores Scotti, was permitted to question a Fund employee at the office of counsel and given the documents which she requested.

## Hearings Are Announced

This was the position when the Fund was abruptly informed, neither by letter nor by official notice but by Mr. Walter's press statement of June 11, that the Committee would begin hearings on June 27 to determine whether the Fund was a "friend or foe in our national death struggle against the Communist conspiracy." Mr. Walter added that he was not at that time passing judgment on the Fund—a curious disclaimer, since the hearings on which Committee judgments are supposedly based had not yet taken place—but was seeking only "objective facts."

A letter dated June 7, addressed by Mr. Walter to Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund, in California, reached Mr. Hutchins (who was in New York) on June 13. It stated that hearings would be held, without explaining how or for what purpose; it invited Mr. Hutchins to attend or send representatives but offered the Fund no opportunity to testify. Meanwhile, on the day the press statement appeared counsel for the Fund had reached the Committee's counsel, Richard Arens, by telephone, requesting the names of witnesses to be called, an opportunity to cross-examine and, if necessary, to introduce witnesses for the Fund. Mr. Arens said that he would supply the names of witnesses in advance, but that cross-examination would not be allowed. He said also that the Fund would be given an opportunity to offer evidence later, but he indicated that the hearing might be adjourned after the Committee witnesses had been heard.

The promised list of witnesses had not been received by June 15. On that day Mr. Hutchins wrote

Mr. Walter that he and other officers and directors of the Fund would be present at the hearings. He requested equal time, on each day of the hearings, to present witnesses of the Fund's selection, including members of its Board and representatives of its grantees. It would thus be possible to present the "objective facts" that Mr. Walter said that he was seeking. Mr. Hutchins observed that hearings in which ignorant or hostile witnesses were heard without immediate opportunity for explanation by those in possession of the facts would be unfair; that misunderstandings and misinformation could be circulated over the country before the Fund had a chance to reply, and that recesses and adjournments would compound the injustice.

No reply was received.

Instead, at the last moment the Fund was informed—again only through the press—that the hearing scheduled for June 27 had been indefinitely postponed. The reason given was to permit the staff of the Committee to examine "certain additional facets" of Fund activities. Hearings would be held after "full exploration of new areas," although there had already been seven months of staff investigation, and the Fund had already supplied the data, information and documents requested. Thus, after leveling most serious accusations against the Fund and obtaining the maximum publicity for them, the Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee ended any possibility of their being answered, or even weighed by the Un-American Activities Committee itself.

### New Tactics Adopted

In adjourning his general investigation of the Fund, however, Mr. Walter did not abandon his attempts to discredit it. A new approach was now adopted. This was to inquire, in a piecemeal way, into specific Fund projects. In the spring the Fund had been completing for publication a report by John Cogley, embodying the results of research into blacklisting in the entertainment industries. The Committee's investigators and its counsel, Mr. Arens, had shown great interest in this report, and the first finished copy had been supplied to Mr. Arens on June 21, as soon as it became available. The report was released for publication on June 25 and immediately came under the usual violent and ill-informed attack from Fulton Lewis, Jr. and other sources that had long manifested their animosity to the Fund. Shortly thereafter its

author, Mr. Cogley, was subpoenaed—not invited, as would be normal under the circumstances—to appear at an executive hearing of the Committee.

An action of the Fund that had long been under attack was its special award, voted in May 1955, to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting because of its support of its Library Committee in refusing, on conscientious grounds, to dismiss a librarian who had declined years before her employment to testify to past associations before a Congressional committee. Shortly after issuing its subpoena to Mr. Cogley, the Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed Maureen Black Ogden, a Fund employee, who had made a report to it on the Plymouth Meeting matter.

The Committee gave no indication that any responsible officer or director of the Fund would be invited or allowed to appear in regard to either of these matters. The Fund objected to these new tactics. In a letter of July 10 to Mr. Walter, Mr. Hutchins expressed the Fund's continued indignation over Mr. Walter's insinuations in his June 11 press statement; he demanded that Mr. Walter declare that the Committee had become convinced of the integrity and patriotism of the Fund or give it the full and impartial hearing that it had asked.

No reply was received.

The Committee investigated the blacklisting report at hearings on July 10-13.

Mr. Cogley learned only as he was entering the committee room that the hearings were not to be in executive session, but were to be open. The press was already on hand. This matter was concluded and the Plymouth Meeting award investigated at a one-day hearing in Philadelphia on July 18. Both hearings followed a similar pattern. Mr. Cogley, in the one case, and Mrs. Ogden in the other were heard first; after subjecting each to hostile cross-examination, the Committee counsel called a succession of unfriendly witnesses, who were critical of the Fund in general and of these two projects in particular. Despite repeated requests by its counsel, the Fund was given no opportunity to be heard. Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, who—as a director of the Fund and chairman of the Board committee that recommended the Plymouth Meeting award—was best qualified to testify as to the Fund's action in this case, flew from a vacation in Mexico to the Philadelphia hearing in an effort to refute the charges about this award as they were being made. She was not permitted to testify. Mrs. Stevenson returned to Mexico later that day after issuing a statement.

On August 21 Mr. Arens telephoned Mrs. Stevenson offering her an "opportunity" to be heard on

August 29. Mrs. Stevenson declined through Counsel on the ground that at this late date to testify on a single action of the Fund could serve no useful purpose. Counsel reiterated the Fund's desire for a full and impartial hearing.

## The Fund Protests

Mr. Hutchins protested against the character of the hearings in a letter to Chairman Walter and other members of the Un-American Activities Committee of July 13. He declared that the Committee's methods were grossly unfair. The public was being misled by statements about the Fund, made by the Committee Chairman and counsel as well as by hostile witnesses, to which the Fund had no opportunity to reply at the time the charges were being made. In thus seeking "equal time" at all hearings for Fund witnesses, Mr. Hutchins stressed the duty of the Committee to permit both sides of any issue involving the Fund to be presented at the *same* hearing. For the third time Mr. Hutchins asked for a hearing in which the Fund for the Republic could present evidence and cross-examine witnesses.

Mr. Walter commented on this letter during the blacklisting hearings. He said that he had personally assured a member of the Fund's Board of Directors that the Fund's witnesses would be heard, but that the present hearings were not on the Fund itself and such witnesses would not be heard at this time. Later in the hearings he repeated this assurance but with an extraordinary modification: "I repeat with all the force of my command *that if it ever becomes material to the issue*, they [The Fund] will be extended an invitation to present testimony." On July 20 the Chairman wrote Mr. Hutchins affirming that "at the appropriate time" representatives of the Fund "will be heard by the Committee" but adding that "the examination of witnesses by a Congressional Committee has always been the exclusive prerogative of the Committee and its counsel."

Another chapter was added on August 6. On that evening Fulton Lewis, Jr., read his radio audience a handwritten letter from Mrs. Stevenson to an officer of the Fund. The letter was dated March 14, 1956, and concerned the award to Plymouth Meeting. The Fund's files about this subject had been subpoenaed by Mr. Walter and were in his possession.

The following wire was thereupon sent to Mr. Walter on August 7 by Mr. Webster:

"IT IS AN INEXCUSABLE VIOLATION OF THE INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO A RADIO COMMENTATOR DOCUMENTS OBTAINED UNDER SUBPOENA FROM THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC THAT WERE NEVER MADE A PART OF THE RECORD. THE FUND CANNOT BE HARMED BY YOUR IRRESPONSIBLE USE OF THIS MATERIAL, BUT THE PRESTIGE OF CONGRESS CANNOT FAIL TO BE DAMAGED BY THIS ABUSE OF THE POWERS LODGED IN YOU. THIS IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE HIT AND RUN TACTICS PURSUED BY YOU AND MR. ARENS IN YOUR DEALINGS WITH THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC."

In the long train of abuses to which the Fund was subjected, another example was Mr. Walter's letter to *The New York Times*, published on August 10. In this he declared that the testimony in regard to John Cogley's report on blacklisting had established only that a number of "hard-core members of the Communist conspiracy" had been denied employment in the entertainment industries. He also said that the Plymouth Quaker Meeting had "at no time evidenced a sympathy with the employment of Mary Knowles"; and that the Fund attempted to "foist an award upon unwilling recipients for an alleged position which the recipients did not take." All of these statements are false, as shown by the letter of George N. Shuster, Vice-Chairman of the Board, published in *The New York Times* on August 17.

## Conclusion

The Fund has cooperated fully with Mr. Walter and his representatives. It seems apparent that Mr. Walter's intention is to deny the Fund a hearing or delay one until it is too late to counteract the widespread circulation of these unfounded accusations. He has engaged in a deliberate scheme to discredit the Fund for the Republic and its objectives in the eyes of the American people.

The public is entitled to know that Mr. Walter's charges and insinuations are false. They would have been proved false if the Fund for the Republic had been given the full hearing demanded by the American tradition of fair play, due process and common decency.

### Public Information Committee

ELMO ROPER, *Chairman*    CHESTER BOWLES    CHARLES W. COLE  
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II    JUBAL R. PARTEN    GEORGE N. SHUSTER

August 23, 1956

# The New York Times

ESTABLISHED 1851 REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.  
"All the News That's Fit to Print"  
ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935

Published Every Day in the Year by  
THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER  
President and Publisher

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS  
Vice President

AMORY H. BRADFORD  
Secretary

FRANCIS A. COX  
Treasurer

## HIT AND RUN

It is time that Representative Francis E. Walter and his House Un-American Activities Committee were called up short for the arrogant, hit-and-run tactics they have pursued in their latest "investigation," which happens to have been directed against the Fund for the Republic.

Representative Walter, legislative partner and spiritual disciple of the late Senator McCarran, announced early in June that he was about to open long-planned hearings to "seek the objective facts" regarding the Fund. In his initial statement he displayed such bias against the Fund—which the Ford Foundation had established in 1952 as a separate entity to defend and promote individual freedom and civil liberties under the Constitution—as to raise serious doubts about his objectivity

and the real purposes of his inquiry. Subsequent events have confirmed those doubts.

Although he suddenly postponed the hearings on the Fund itself, Mr. Walter soon held two sets of public sessions directly affecting its activities. One of these, on which we have previously commented, was the inquiry into the Fund-financed report by John Cogley on blacklisting in the entertainment industry. The other was an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the Fund's award of \$500 last year to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends for hiring and refusing to dismiss a librarian after she had pleaded the Fifth Amendment.

In both these cases the tactics employed by the Walter committee and its counsel, Richard Arens, were deplorable. Most of the questions were directed to the content of Mr. Cogley's book, bringing the committee close to violating the First Amendment, a point highlighted by Mr. Walter, who stated to the witness: "We called you for the purpose of ascertaining what your sources were in order to determine whether or not your conclusions were the conclusions that we would have reached had we embarked on this sort of project." That statement speaks for itself.

The Philadelphia hearings came so close to violating freedom of religion, among other things, that nine leading Philadelphia Quakers were moved to state that "we regard such inquiries as a serious transgression upon the complete division between church and state,

which is one of the important foundations of our democracy." They said that what took place at the hearings "was a travesty upon the word 'investigation' and a mockery of the idea of inquiry \* \* \* an organized attempt to present selected facts in the light most discreditable to the Fund for the Republic."

At neither of these sets of hearings was any officer or director of the Fund for the Republic asked to testify in defense or explanation of the subject under inquiry, although it is perfectly obvious that the Fund itself is the ultimate object of attack. At the Philadelphia hearings, Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, a director of the Fund and chairman of its special awards committee, vainly flew from Mexico in order to testify, correctly noting that "the actions of the Fund for the Republic are the decisions of its Board of Directors" and the members of the board ought to be given the opportunity to speak for it.

This newspaper has no desire or intention of defending every action of the Fund for the Republic. What we defend is the right of the Fund to carry on its proper activities without Congressional harassment. What we insist upon is the duty of the Congressional committees that take it on themselves to investigate this or any other foundation to behave in a judicial and fair-minded manner. What we object to are such sorry sniping expeditions as have just been conducted by Mr. Walter, Democrat, of Pennsylvania.

## The American Traditions Prizes

The Fund for the Republic has established an American Traditions Project "to dramatize incidents illustrating how the good sense of Americans has prevailed in our daily lives, particularly in conflicts or disputes which may never have reached the headlines." To this end the Project offers \$10,000 in prizes for letters reporting "true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and to follow the dictates of conscience, or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations, in the face of considerations of 'expediency.'"

Thirteen prizes are offered, from a first prize of \$2,500 down to ten of \$100 each; in addition, an amount equal to each prize will be donated to any tax-exempt charitable, educational or religious organization designated by

the winner. The letters are to be of not more than 1000 words. Further details will be announced later. Among examples suggested by the Project of the kind of material desired are stories of someone who saw to it that a man charged with crime got a fair trial in face of public prejudice; someone who prevented Communists from taking over an organization by their unfair and un-American techniques; some school teacher or trustee who refused to let outside pressure groups interfere with free thought and discussion; some union man who defended an employer unjustly accused or business man who defended a union organizer's rights. The Project seeks stories "which show the American tradition in action" and exemplify "those principles of fairness and moderation" on which that tradition is based.

## Printed Materials

*Copies of the following are available in limited numbers on request to the Fund for the Republic:*

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Report, May 31, 1955.

Three-Year Report, May 31, 1956.

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Bulletin, May 1956, "Civil Liberties and Race Relations."

Bulletin, June 1956, "Civil Liberties: A Three-Year Effort."

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Facts No. 1 ("Aims and Organization").

Facts No. 2 ("Three-Part Study: The Communist Record in the United States").

Facts No. 3 ("Grants to Religious Organizations").

Facts No. 4 ("Freedom Agenda").

### THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Article by Albert Fowler from *The Presbyterian Outlook*, reprinted from the *Congressional Record*.

### THE BILL OF RIGHTS YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

Talk by Robert M. Hutchins.

### PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE, THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Address by Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, at the anniversary celebration in Williamsburg, Va., of the Virginia Declaration of Rights (the text of which is included in the pamphlet).

### THE ANGRY SOUTH

Article by Ralph McGill, reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly*.

### WHO'S ON FIRST?

Public Affairs Pamphlet on discrimination by Jack Mabley, sports columnist of the *Chicago Daily News*.

### FREEDOM OF INQUIRY VS. AUTHORITY: SOME LEGAL ASPECTS

Lecture by Joseph O'Meara, Dean, Notre Dame Law School.

### THE HIGH COST OF SECRECY TO SCIENCE

Statement by Gerard Piel, editor of *Scientific American*, reprinted from the *Wall Street Journal*.

### SOCIAL SCIENCE AND FREEDOM

Pamphlet of radio lectures under the auspices of the Social Science Research Center, University of Minnesota.

### WHO ARE COMMUNISTS AND WHY?

Pamphlet No. 6 in the series "Know Your Communist Enemy," issued by the Department of Defense.

## The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

60 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Chairman: PAUL G. HOFFMAN  
Former Chairman of the Board  
Studebaker-Packard Corp.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Vice-Chairman: GEORGE N. SHUSTER  
President, Hunter College  
New York, N. Y.

CHESTER BOWLES  
Essex, Conn.

CHARLES W. COLE  
President, Amherst College  
Amherst, Mass.

RUSSELL L. DEARMONT  
Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railroad  
St. Louis, Mo.

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD  
Dean, Law School of Harvard University  
Cambridge, Mass.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, II  
New York, N. Y.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS  
President  
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

WILLIAM H. JOYCE, JR.  
Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc.  
Pasadena, Calif.

MEYER KESTNBAUM  
President, Hart-Schaffner & Marx  
Chicago, Ill.

ROGER D. LAPHAM  
San Francisco, Calif.

M. ALBERT LINTON  
Chairman of the Board  
Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

J. HOWARD MARSHALL  
Vice-President, Signal Oil & Gas Co.  
Fort Worth, Tex.

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN  
Attorney, Covington & Burling  
Washington, D. C.

JUBAL R. PARTEN  
President, Woodley Petroleum Co.  
Houston, Tex.

ELMO ROPER  
Elmo Roper & Associates  
New York, N. Y.

MRS. ELEANOR B. STEVENSON  
Oberlin, Ohio

JAMES D. ZELLERBACH  
President, Crown Zellerbach Corp.  
San Francisco, Calif.

Additional copies of this  
Bulletin are available on request

100-391697-428



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF

TO:

___ Director	___ Miss Gandy, 5744
___ Mr. Tolson, 5744	___ Miss Gandy, 5633
___ Mr. Boardman, 5736	___ Mr. Holloman, 5633
___ Mr. Belmont, 1742	
___ Mr. Mohr, 5517	___ Records Branch
___ Mr. Parsons, 7621	___ Pers. Records, 6631
___ Mr. Rosen, 5706	___ Reading Room, 5531
___ Mr. Tamm, 5256	___ Mail Room, 5533
___ Mr. Trotter, 4130 IB	___ Teletype, 5644
___ Mr. Sizoo, 1742	___ Code Room, 4642
	___ Mechanical, B-110
___ Mr. Nichols, 5640	___ Supply Room, B-216
___ Mr. McGuire, 5642	___ Tour Room, 5625
___ Mr. Wick, 5634	
___ Mr. DeLoach, 5636	
___ Mr. Morgan, 5625	___ Miss Lurz
	___ Mrs. Faber
___ Mr. Jones, 4236	___ Miss McCord
___ Mr. Leonard, 6222 IB	___ Miss Rogers
___ Mr. Waikart, 7204	___ Miss Loper
___ Mr. Eames, 7206	___ Miss Price
___ Mr. Wherry, 5537	

\_\_\_ See Me  
\_\_\_ For Your Info

\_\_\_ For appropriate  
action

\_\_\_ Note & Return

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-8-89 BY 263850/pjg

L. B. Nichols  
Room 5640, Ext. 691

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 23, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
BUREAU FILE 100-391697

Tolson ☒  
 Boardman ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mason ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Parsons ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tamm ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Gandy ☒

The Bureau, through Liaison, has obtained on a  
 confidential basis [redacted]

Referral/Consult

The [redacted] will be reviewed by the  
 Special Memoranda Unit and all pertinent information not  
 previously known to the Bureau will be brought to your  
 attention. A cursory examination [redacted]

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

None. For your information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 2-2-89 BY SP8BJT/BJT

RJR:bjt

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

EX-100

100-391697-429

58 OCT 29 1956



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 10-18-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-8-89 BY 2083 BJB/SP

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, came by to see me 10-17-56. I hadn't seen him for some time and his call was more of a visit to say hello.

He did want to report that approximately a week ago he had lunch with Robert Maynard Hutchins, Hutchins has shed a large amount of belligerency and on the occasion of the luncheon with him was obviously putting forth his best effort and was quite personable. One of the most significant things of the lunch was that when Hutchins organized the Fund For the Republic he hoped to develop it as a mass communications media and in this he had failed for which he has a personal hurt. Ferman thought this was significant because it established his view that the tax exempt situation of the Fund should be withdrawn since it had engaged in propaganda.

A second important thing brought out was the fact that Hutchins intimated rather strongly that Paul Hoffman was now a liability to the Fund For the Republic and that Elmo Roper was Hutchins' candidate for the position which Paul Hoffman now holds. Irving further told me that the Fund For the Republic study on "fear in education" which is being made by Lou Harris is due to come out before the end of the year, that Harris has told him that he found no fear in education, that on the other hand he found considerable belligerency and antagonism in education that came from within and not from outside.

The Fund For the Republic is getting ready to give a dinner for Harry Cain, formerly with the Subversive Activities Control Board, and apparently will give him some kind of award although Ferman did not know the details as to whether or not an award would be given and, if so, what kind it would be. They are trying to get Morris Ernst to be the speaker. Ben Ginzburg is making the arrangements.

Irving further told me that George Eddy, a former Treasury Department employee who was involved in either a loyalty or security case, is now writing a book and the manuscript is practically complete. It seeks to clear Harry Dexter White, Alger Hiss and William Remington and to prove they were railroaded. Eddy takes the position that the ACLU has gone soft.

cc - Mr. Boardman 349  
cc - Mr. Belmont 21  
cc - Mr. Eddy 6  
LBN:nl (5)

RECORDED - 70

INDEXED - 76

100-391697-430  
17 OCT 26 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: October 30, 1956

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS *LBN*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Fulton Lewis, Jr., informed me that a Tex Talbot of California had informed him that he had received a letter from Governor Pyle of the White House stating that the Department of Justice has held that there was nothing wrong in the operation of the Fund for the Republic.

This Lewis finds difficult to believe and told me that he was going to take the matter up with the Attorney General.

cc-Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
LBN:jmr *jmr*  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-89 BY 8825/108  
INDEXED-41  
RECORDED-41

EX-117

NOV 1 1956

ORD. FILED

FOUR

# Fund Report Cites Integration Speed

NEW YORK, Oct. 28 (AP) — "There is no longer a Solid South of segregation," a report financed by the Fund for the Republic concluded today.

The results of a "state-by-state" survey, covering a period since the United States Supreme Court's 1954 ruling against segregation in public schools, were contained in a 120-page book entitled "Integration: North and South," written by Harold Fleming and David Loth under a Fund grant.

Fleming, who surveyed the South and a number of border states, said he found 1100 instances of desegregation in schooling, housing, transportation, employment and public accommodations. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously," he said.

Loth, who surveyed the 31 states outside the South and five border states, said the report was "frankly one-sided."

"It is a list of specific instances of desegregation which constitute positive evidence of progress toward the integration of Negroes into the community life of the northern (and southern) United States," he said.

Fleming said he found in his southern survey that a "large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harshly defiant."

Since the Supreme Court decision, he said, more than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 states surveyed have integrated schools to some degree. But he said there were no integrated public elementary or

secondary schools in eight states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia, and North and South Carolina.

"Legislatures in each of these states have adopted measures to circumvent the Supreme Court decision, varying from pupil-assignment plans to blueprints for converting public schools to private status," Fleming said.

Among private and parochial schools, Flemming said Catholic school integration has occurred, in whole or in part, in Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

In the field of higher education, he said that some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes since 1935. He said Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina still enforce complete segregation in state-supported colleges, but all but South Carolina had at least one desegregated private college.

Fleming said a growing number of Negroes have sought public office in the South, with mounting success, during recent years.

"For example, as of 1954, Negroes were already serving on city councils in at least 11 southern cities and held other elective or appointive offices in more than 20 other communities," he said. "Of the latter, approximately 15 including such deep-South cities as Atlanta and Nashville, had Negro members on their boards of education."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten notes:*  
Rosen  
Baumgardner  
Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-2-89 BY SP2B7J/8

Wash. Post and Times Herald **B-1**  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date **OCT 29 1956**

*Handwritten:*  
Memo Reach to  
Belmont 10/30/56  
R.F.

*Handwritten:*  
File 100-391697  
100-391697-432

Mr. Tolson ☒  
 Mr. Nichols ☒  
 Mr. Boardman ☒  
 Mr. Belmont ☒  
 Mr. Mohr ☐  
 Mr. Parsons ☐  
 Mr. Rosen ☐  
 Mr. Tamm ☐  
 Mr. Trotter ☐  
 Mr. Nease ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Mr. Holloman ☐  
 Miss Gandy ☐

November 15, 1956

Mr. Tolson:

Fred Mullen told me in confidence on November 14 that it appears that John Lindsay is about to resign from the Department and go back to New York. Mullen stated that Lindsay's law firm has brought considerable pressure to bear on him and Lindsay is now saying that he accepted the position for only two years to begin with.

I asked Mullen what law firm Lindsay was connected with and he didn't know the name of the firm but stated it was the firm that Bethuel Webster was a member of. Webster, of course, is the General Counsel for the Fund For the Republic and Lindsay has been seeing the material which we have sent to the Department. If this be a fact, it will be interesting to observe just what ethics means to Lindsay.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:nl  
 (2)

EX-104

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-2-89 BY 883517/28

File 100-391697

RECORDED - 70  
 INDEXED - 70

100-391697-433

NOV 20 1956

CRIME REC.

NOV 23 1956

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: October 30, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson ☒  
 Nichols ☒  
 Boardman ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mason ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Parsons ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Tamm ☒  
 Nease ☒  
 Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holloman ☒  
 Gandy ☒

According to the 10/29/56 "Washington Post and Times Herald," the Fund announced the completion of a survey of integration in the North and South since the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling against segregation in public schools. The results of this survey are published in a 120-page book entitled "Integration: North and South," written by David Loth, formerly with the "New York Times" and "New York World" newspapers, and Harold Fleming (not further identified), under a grant from the Fund.

According to the article, the survey indicates "There is no longer a Solid South of segregation." Fleming, who surveyed the South, said he found a "large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harshly defiant." He also said he found 1,100 instances of desegregation in schooling, housing, transportation, employment, and public accommodations. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously. Loth, who surveyed the North, said his report was "frankly one-sided. It is a list of specific instances of desegregation which constitute positive evidence of progress toward the integration of Negroes into the community life of the northern (and southern) United States." Fleming may be identical with Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, which has received sizeable grants from the Fund to study interracial relationship. The Bureau has not investigated Fleming and our files contain no pertinent information identifiable with him.

Loth has not been investigated by the Bureau. Our files show that according to the 4/20/39 issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, Loth was among the progressive writers and artists who had contributed copies of their works to be sold at public auction in support of the Chicago Newspaper Guild's strike against the local Hearst newspapers. (61-7554-94X2)

RJR:clr

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section
- 1 - Mr. Young

RECORDED - 97

INDEXED - 97

EX-125

LIAISON

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont

October 30, 1956

RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

The 10/5/44 issue of the "Washington Times-Herald" newspaper stated that the HCUA had placed on record information that Loth had registered in the New York City 1936 election as a communist; that he had also contributed an article to the "New Masses," described by the Committee as the official organ of the Communist Party (CP). During testimony before the HCUA on 10/4/44, Loth admitted that the name and New York address appearing on the CP registration in 1936 were both his, but he insisted that he did not register as a communist. He also stated that the fact that he was a contributor to the "New Masses," was not significant. (61-7582-1302). In 1952 Loth was a co-author of a book entitled "Report on the American Communist," which contains the statements of some three hundred former CP members in an attempt to show what led these individuals to join and later leave the CP. (94-4-2029-1)

ACTION:

For information.

*JPB*  
*HJB*

*amb* *hja*  
*ad*

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 8-2-89 BY 003353 kag

(RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M. EST)  
 (FUNDS)

NEW YORK--ELMO ROPER, PUBLIC OPINION ANALYST, HAS BEEN ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, THE FUND ANNOUNCED TODAY.

THE FUND ALSO ANNOUNCED THE ELECTION OF THREE BOARD MEMBERS: MISS ALICIA PATTERSON, OF NEW YORK, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF NEWS AND A DIRECTOR OF THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS; HARRY S. ASHMORE, EXECUTIVE EDITOR OF THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE, LITTLE ROCK, AND BRUCE CATTOM, OF BETHESDA, MD., HISTORIAN AND FORMERLY WITH THE CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER AND THE NEWSPAPER ENTERPRISE ASSOCIATION.

ROPER SUCCEEDED PAUL G. HOFFMAN, WHO WILL CONTINUE AS A DIRECTOR OF THE FUND. ASHMORE IS A FORMER DIRECTOR WHO RETURNED TO THE BOARD AFTER A BRIEF LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

THE FUND ALSO ANNOUNCED THE RETIREMENT OF THREE BOARD MEMBERS WHOSE TERMS HAVE EXPIRED: CHESTER BOWLES, FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDIA; JOHN LORD O'BRIEN, ATTORNEY; AND JAMES B. ZELLERBACH, PRESIDENT OF THE CROWN ZELLERBACH CORP.

IN A STATEMENT ISSUED UPON HIS ELECTION AS BOARD CHAIRMAN, ROPER SAID THAT THE FUND "IS TRYING TO STRENGTHEN THE CLIMATE IN WHICH FREEDOM IS POSSIBLE."

HE SAID THAT "SOVIET RUSSIA IS THE BASIC THREAT TO FREEDOM IN THE WORLD TODAY" AND NOTED THAT THE FUND HAS FINANCED RESEARCH ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES AND ON MEASURES TO COMBAT COMMUNISM IN THIS COUNTRY.

11/20--WOLRG338P

INDEXED-95  
 RECORDED-95

100-391697-434

3 NOV 21 1956

*This is a funny old  
 Khrushchev's stowat  
 of "peaceful" intentions.*

CRIME REC.

67 NOV 26 1956

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. W. BELMONT

DATE: November 21, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

SYNOPSIS:

Re my previous memoranda indicating that the Bureau, through Liaison, has obtained on a confidential basis

A Photostat for Bureau files has been made

Referral/Consult

Referral/Consult

Referral/Consult

Enclosure

RCY:bjt (5)

1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Section

1 - Mr. Young

\* see details starting page 4

435

File 100-391697